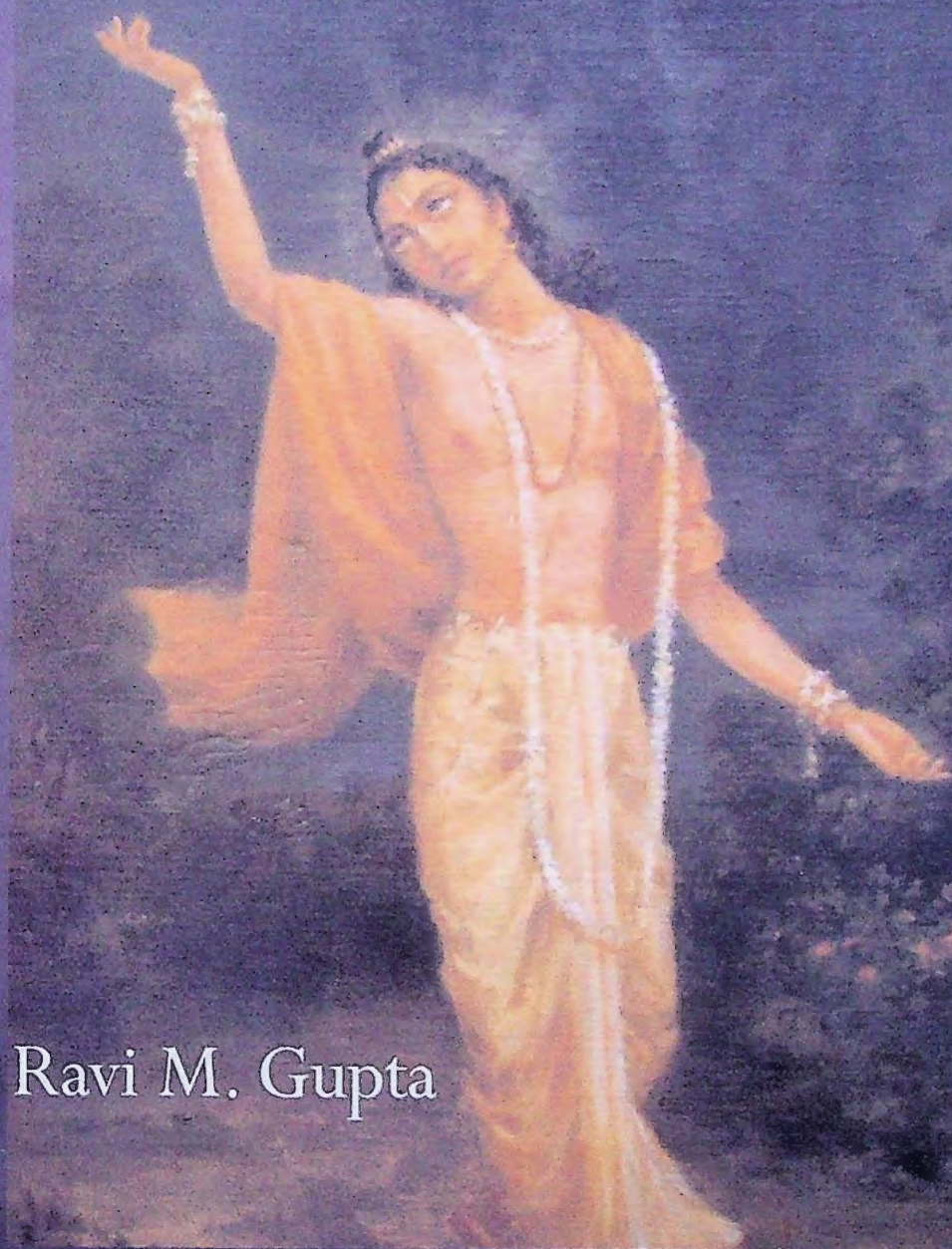


# The Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Vedānta of Jīva Gosvāmī

When knowledge meets devotion



Ravi M. Gupta











## THE CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVA VEDĀNTA OF JĪVA GOSVĀMĪ

The Caitanya Vaiṣṇava tradition is famous for its depth of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, the blue-hued Deity. Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas are known for having refined the practice and aesthetics of devotion into a sophisticated science. This imposing devotional edifice was constructed upon a solid foundation of philosophical argument and understanding. In *The Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Vedānta of Jīva Gosvāmī*, Ravi Gupta sheds new light on the contribution of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism to the field of Indian philosophy. He explores the hermeneutical tools employed, the historical resources harnessed, the structure of the arguments made, and the relative success of the endeavor. For most schools of Vaiṣṇavism, the supporting foundation consists of the philosophical resources provided by Vedānta. The Caitanya tradition is remarkable in its ability to engage in Vedāntic discourse and at the same time practice an ecstatic form of devotion to Krishna. The prime architect of this balance was the scholar-devotee Jīva Gosvāmī (ca. 1517–1608). This book analyses Jīva Gosvāmī's writing concerning the philosophy of the Vedānta tradition. It concludes that Jīva's writing crosses "disciplinary boundaries," for he brought into dialogue four powerful streams of classical Hinduism: (1) the various systems of Vedānta; (2) the ecstatic *bhakti* movements; (3) the Purāṇic commentarial tradition; and (4) the aesthetic *rasa* theory of Sanskrit poetics. With training in and commitments to all of these traditions, Jīva Gosvāmī produced a distinctly Caitanya Vaiṣṇava system of theology.

**Dr. Ravi M. Gupta** is Assistant Professor of Religion at Centre College, Kentucky, USA and Associate Lecturer for the University of Wales Lampeter (Open Learning Theology and Religious Studies Programme). His research interests include Sanskrit commentary, Vaiṣṇava devotional traditions and comparative theology.

# ROUTLEDGE HINDU STUDIES SERIES

Edited by: Gavin Flood

*University of Stirling*

Former Series Editor: Francis X. Clooney, S.J.,

*Harvard University*



The *Routledge Hindu Studies Series*, in association with the Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies, intends the publication of constructive Hindu theological, philosophical and ethical projects aimed at bringing Hindu traditions into dialogue with contemporary trends in scholarship and contemporary society. The series invites original, high quality, research-level work on religion, culture and society of Hindus living in India and abroad. Proposals for annotated translations of important primary sources and studies in the history of the Hindu religious traditions will also be considered.

## EPISTEMOLOGIES AND THE LIMITATIONS OF PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY

Doctrine in Mādhva Vedānta

*Deepak Sarma*

## HINDU CRITIQUE OF BUDDHIST EPISTEMOLOGY

Kumarila on perception

The "Determination of Perception" chapter of Kumārīlabhaṭṭa's *Slokarvarttika*

Translation and commentary

*John Taber*

## SAMKARA'S ADVAITA VEDANTA

A way of teaching

*Jacqueline Hirst*

## ATTENDING KṚṢṆA'S IMAGE

Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Mūrti-sevā as devotional truth

*Kenneth Russell Valpey*

## ADVAITA VEDĀNTA AND VAIṢṆAVISM

The philosophy of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī

*Sanjukta Gupta*

## CLASSICAL SĀMKHYA AND YOGA

An Indian metaphysics of experience

*Mikel Burley*

## SELF-SURRENDER (PRAPATTI) TO GOD IN ŚRĪVAIṢṆAVISM

Tamil cats or Sanskrit monkeys?

*Srilata Raman*

## THE CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVA VEDĀNTA OF JĪVA GOSVĀMĪ

When knowledge meets devotion

*Ravi M. Gupta*



# THE CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVA VEDĀNTA OF JĪVA GOSVĀMĪ

When knowledge meets devotion

*Ravi M. Gupta*



Routledge

Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK



First published 2007  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge

270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group,  
an informa business*

© 2007 Ravi M. Gupta

Typeset in Times New Roman  
by Graphcraft Limited, Hong Kong

Printed and bound in Great Britain by MPG Books, Bodmin, Cornwall

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available  
from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Gupta, Ravi M. (Ravi Mohan), 1982–

The Chaitanya Vaishnava Vedanta of Jiva Gosvami : when knowledge meets devotion /  
Ravi M. Gupta.

p. cm. — (Routledge Hindu studies series)

Based on the author's thesis (doctoral—University of Oxford).

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN13: 978-0-415-40548-5 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Jiva Gosvami—Philosophy.  
2. Chaitanya (Sect) 3. Vedanta. 4. Bhakti. I. Title.

BL1285.392.J58G87 2007

294.5'512092—dc22

2006028485

ISBN10: 0-415-40548-3 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-203-50068-7 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-40548-5 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-50068-2 (ebk)

TO MY PARENTS, WHO  
INTRODUCED ME TO KṚṢṆA





# CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Foreword</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism</i>	5
<i>Jīva Gosvāmī</i>	6
<i>The Bhāgavata-sandarbha</i>	11
<i>Editorial notes</i>	12
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>Jīva Gosvāmī's system of Vedānta</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1 Bhakti and Vedānta: do they mix?</b>	<b>15</b>
<i>Challenges and possibilities for Vedāntic discourse</i>	15
<i>The Bhāgavata Purāṇa as mediator</i>	25
<b>2 Caitanya Vaiṣṇava hermeneutics</b>	<b>32</b>
<i>Bhagavān</i>	32
<i>Bhagavān's śakti</i>	39
<i>Bhagavān's inconceivable śakti</i>	45
<i>Hermeneutics applied</i>	56
<b>3 Sources for Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Vedānta</b>	<b>63</b>
<i>Jīva Gosvāmī's audience</i>	63
<i>Śrīdhara Svāmī</i>	65
<i>Rāmānuja</i>	84
<i>Śaṅkara and Madhva</i>	87

<b>4</b>	<b>Vedānta in the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i></b>	<b>93</b>
	<i>The overall purport of the Bhāgavata</i>	93
	<i>Satyam Paraṁ Dhīmahi: Vedānta in the first verse</i>	105
	<i>Conclusion</i>	112
 <b>PART II</b>		
	<b>Jīva Gosvāmī's <i>Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā</i></b>	<b>119</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>History of the written text</b>	<b>121</b>
	<i>The manuscript tradition</i>	121
	<i>Printed editions</i>	131
	<i>Major variants</i>	131
	<i>Editorial conventions followed in the critical edition</i>	132
	<i>Editorial conventions followed in the translation</i>	134
<b>6</b>	<b>A critical edition</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Translation and notes</b>	<b>166</b>
	<i>Establishing the meaning of the Bhāgavata</i>	166
	<i>The opening and concluding statements: the first indicator</i>	166
	<i>Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.1: Satyam Paraṁ Dhīmahi</i>	167
	<i>Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.2: Janmādy Asya Yataḥ</i>	177
	<i>Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.3–4: Anvayād</i>	
	<i>Itarataś Cārtheṣu</i>	182
	<i>Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.5: Abhijñāḥ Svarāḥ</i>	185
	<i>Another explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.3: Tene Brahma . . .</i>	187
	<i>Another explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.4: Muhyanti</i>	
	<i>Yat Sūrayaḥ</i>	188
	<i>Another explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.5: Abhijñāḥ Svarāḥ</i>	189
	<i>The meaning of the entire Brahma-sūtra</i>	189
	<i>The meaning of the Gāyatrī</i>	190
	<i>The meaning of the entire Purāṇa</i>	192
	<i>The concluding statement</i>	193
	<i>Repetition and novelty—the second and third indicators</i>	197
	<i>Result—the fourth indicator</i>	197
	<i>The statement of praise—the fifth indicator</i>	198
	<i>Reasoning—the sixth indicator</i>	199
	 <i>Appendix: Overview of the Bhāgavata-sandarbha</i>	 201
	<i>Bibliography</i>	208
	<i>Index</i>	217

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## Figures

1	Caitanya and his close associate Nityānanda. A relief carving located at the Rādhā-Damodara temple in Jaipur, Rajasthan.	4
2	The images of Rādhā and Dāmodara (Kṛṣṇa) worshiped by Jīva Gosvāmī.	6
3	Jīva Gosvāmī.	8
4	The Six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana. Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmī are in the center.	9
5	The temple of Rādhā-Dāmodara in Jaipur, Rajasthan, which houses the original image of Kṛṣṇa worshiped by Jīva Gosvāmī.	122
6	Pragmatic stemma.	125

## Tables

3.1	The content of Jīva Gosvāmī's quotations from Rāmānuja's <i>Śrībhāṣya</i>	88
4.1	Correlation between the first five <i>sūtras</i> of the <i>Brahma-sūtra</i> and the first verse of the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	108
4.2	Vedāntic discussions from the first verse of the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	108
4.3	Correlation between various Upaniṣadic passages and the first verse of the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	109
4.4	Correlation between the <i>Gayatrī</i> mantra and the first verse of the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	111
4.5	Correlation between the chapters of the <i>Brahma-sūtra</i> and the first verse of the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	112
4.6	Characteristics of a <i>Purāṇa</i> embedded in the first verse of the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	112





## FOREWORD

The *Routledge Hindu Studies Series*, published in collaboration with the Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies, primarily intends the publication of constructive Hindu theological, philosophical, and ethical projects. The focus is on issues and concerns of relevance to readers interested in Hindu traditions in particular, yet also in the context of a wider range of related religious concerns that matter in today's world. The Series seeks to promote excellent scholarship and, in relation to it, an open and critical conversation among scholars and the wider audience of interested readers. Though contemporary in its purpose, the Series recognizes the importance of retrieving the classic texts and ideas, beliefs, and practices, of Hindu traditions, so that the great intellectuals of these traditions can, as it were, become conversation partners in the conversations of today.

The publication of this book marks an important development in the academic study of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava tradition. It makes three major points: historical, theological, and textual. Ravi Gupta establishes the historical point of the way in which Vedānta, eroded to some extent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to the rise of devotional traditions, becomes fused with devotionalism in the Caitanya tradition. This fusion can be seen in the work of Jīva Gosvāmī who writes a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, the *Catuhṣūtrī Ṭīkā*, in which he reads Vedānta through the lens of the devotionalism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This is an original innovation in the history of Indian thought. Indeed, we might say that through Jīva's work the Vedānta tradition undergoes a repristination that gives it renewed theological energy. Ravi Gupta shows how Jīva's understanding of Vedānta is original while, of course, claiming to be closer to its source through being the correct interpretation.

The theological importance of Jīva lies, as this book shows, in his ability to weave together themes from the Vedānta and Caitanya traditions and infuse those traditions with ideas taken from a broad field of Sanskrit learning, particularly poetics. Jīva brings together the emphasis on knowledge (*jñāna*) in the Vedānta with both the devotion (*bhakti*) and aesthetic experience (*rasa*) of the Bhāgavata tradition. He thus shows how an emotional

## FOREWORD

devotionalism needs to be tempered with an intellectual rigour that sets that devotion within the broad field of philosophical inquiry. Jīva saw the need to establish his tradition within the wider parameters of Hindu intellectual history and succeeds in this through his voluminous writings. But not only does this book present us with a theological history, it also provides a critical edition and translation of the *Catuḥsūtrī Tīkā*, providing a history of the text, an account of the manuscript traditions, and establishing a stemma.

Ravi Gupta's book is very well-written text which provides a much needed account of the integration of Vedānta and Caitanya *bhakti*. It successfully combines solid textual scholarship with a history of ideas approach that will be of interest to an audience beyond Indology.

Gavin Flood



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is a product of many hands. I am grateful to all those who have offered their help throughout the research and writing process. The book began as a D.Phil. thesis at the University of Oxford, and many scholars gave direction and timely advice: Dr. Sanjukta Gupta Gombrich, Prof. Keith Ward, Dr. James Benson, Prof. Francis Clooney S.J., Prof. Klaus Klostermaier, Dr. Larry Kreitzer, and Prof. Joseph O'Connell. My colleague Rembert Lutjeharms painstakingly read through early versions of the manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions.

Collecting manuscripts of the *Bhāgavatasandarbhā* was an adventure and learning experience. I would have returned empty-handed had it not been for all those who facilitated my research. Dr. Imre Bangha freely shared advice and personal contacts from his own travels in India, while Prof. Richard Gombrich and Dr. Gillian Evison gave letters of introduction. The staff and scholars at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (Jodhpur and Alwar), Vrindavan Research Institute, Shree Sanjay Sharma Museum and Research Institute (Jaipur), and the Asiatic Society (Kolkata) kindly opened up their valuable collections to me and made reproductions of works by Jīva Gosvāmī. Special thanks goes to my family in Allahabad, Bareilly, Jaipur, Kolkata, and Lucknow who facilitated my travels in innumerable ways—with accommodation, transport, home-cooked food, and plentiful advice on navigating India's surprises. Some manuscripts were too far afield for me to visit. Prof. O'Connell and Prof. Kazi Nazrul Islam took great pains to procure *Sandarbhā* manuscripts from the University of Dhaka (Bangladesh), while Prof. Narasimhachary and Dr. Sabita Acharya investigated those in Chennai and Jagannātha Purī, respectively. Dr. Jan Brzezinski kindly gave me all the *Sandarbhās* in digital form.

I am grateful to several institutions for their financial help: the Theology Faculty at Oxford and St. Hugh's College for full support during three years of postgraduate study, Phi Kappa Phi National Honor Society and Regent's Park College for support in the first year of study and the Boden Trust for research funding in India.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to those individuals who have cared for me as mentors throughout my academic career. Dr. Kenneth Valpey has been a kind teacher, cheerful colleague and constant friend. His personal library, to which he generously gave me open access, was an invaluable resource. The late Tamal Krishna Goswami was an exemplary scholar and Vaiṣṇava whose example was an inspiration to me. Shaunaka Rishi Dasa, as Director of the Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies, has been a stable source of encouragement and guidance. My first Sanskrit teacher, Gary Thomas, instilled in me a love for the language by his enthusiasm, expertise, and patient instruction. Prof. M. Narasimhachary, a veritable reservoir of Sanskrit learning and devotion, freely shared that wealth with me over months of instruction and conversation.

Still, my debt is nowhere deeper than to my mother and father, Aruddha and Arun Gupta, and brother Gopal, who have cared for me continuously, in every possible way, often from halfway across the world.

Finally, I offer my respects to my spiritual preceptors, Hanumatpreśaka Swami, Gopal Krishna Goswami, and Ganapati Swami, who encouraged me to delve into this storehouse of knowledge and open it to academic study.

# INTRODUCTION

“Let us inquire into the Supreme Truth, the origin of this world.” Thus begin two great classics of the Indian religious traditions—the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The former is a collection of some five hundred succinct prose aphorisms (*sūtras*) that systematically argue for the philosophical doctrines of the Upaniṣads. These aphorisms have become the subject matter of a vibrant tradition of commentary and debate known as Vedānta. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, on the other hand, is a marvel of poetry that expresses a sophisticated theology dedicated to the bluish Lord, Śrī Kṛṣṇa. It has served as the inspiration for works of literature, art, and architecture within both popular culture and elite circles.

Some five hundred years ago, in Kṛṣṇa’s village of Vṛndāvana, the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava tradition brought these two texts together. Emerging from a period of intense devotional activity in North India, yet grounded in the Vedāntic philosophical tradition, the Caitanya tradition combined and transformed the nature of both.

The contribution of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism to the realm of Indian philosophy is virtually unknown. The tradition is famous instead for its depth of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, the playful Deity who stole butter as a child in Vṛndāvana and spoke the Bhagavad-gītā on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas are known for singing the names of Kṛṣṇa and dancing with abandon. They are admired for having refined the practice and aesthetics of devotion into a sophisticated science like no other tradition before.

Yet, this imposing devotional edifice was constructed upon a solid foundation of philosophical argument and understanding. Once a building’s architecture is visible, the foundation is sometimes forgotten or ignored, but in reality the completed edifice is only as good as its supports. Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism pushed the very limits of devotional feeling for Kṛṣṇa, and this required a foundation that was equally resilient and sophisticated. In this book, we will uncover this foundation and study it carefully. We will see the challenges that faced those who laid it, the hermeneutical tools that were employed, the historical resources harnessed, the structure of the arguments made, and the relative success of the endeavor.

Laying a secure foundation for devotional practice is a task common to all schools of Vaiṣṇavism, and the materials for such an enterprise usually come from the realm of Vedānta philosophy. Nearly every theistic school since the time of Śaṅkara, the famous eighth-century nondualist, has engaged with the Vedāntic tradition, usually by writing a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*. The first four aphorisms of the *Brahma-sūtra* are regarded as the most important, for they give definitions and establish methodology for the entire text. These *sūtras* are rich in suggestive power and broad in scope—in a total of ten words, they discuss the nature of ultimate reality, the origin of creation, the means of acquiring knowledge about ultimate reality, the qualifications of a person seeking that knowledge, and the proper method of scriptural interpretation.

The four *sūtras* are as follows: *athāto brahma-jijñāsā*, “Now, therefore, [let us begin] inquiry into Brahman; *janmādy asya yataḥ*, “[Brahman is that] from which there is the creation, [maintenance and dissolution] of this [universe]; *śāstra-yonitvāt*, “Scripture is the origin [of knowledge about Brahman]; and *tat tu samanvayāt*, “That [Brahman is realized] by a complete understanding (of scripture).”

As one would expect, commentaries on these *sūtras* are detailed and demanding. They serve as concise yet complete statements of their schools’ philosophical standpoints, and can often be read independently of the rest of the text. The translations given above are intended only as general indicators, since the precise interpretation would depend upon the school of Vedānta one chooses to follow. Indeed, commentators differ on everything from the meaning of individual words in a *sūtra* to the role of a *sūtra* in the overall argument of the *Brahma-sūtra*. The history of Vedāntic commentary is rich with lively debates, rigorous logic, and ingenious reinterpretations. Still, there are some basic questions that every school is concerned with. They can be put like this:

- What is the nature of ultimate reality (Brahman)?
- What is the relationship of the world to Brahman?
- What is our nature, that is, the nature of living entities?
- How do we obtain final liberation (*mokṣa*)?

For example, the nondualist philosopher Śaṅkara argued that Brahman is attributeless reality, which apparently transforms into this phenomenal world, although this transformation is in fact illusory. The living entities are nondifferent from Brahman and therefore liberation consists simply in realizing this identity. The Vaiṣṇava teachers, beginning with Rāmānuja and Madhva, naturally reject such a view, for it precludes the possibility of a loving relationship between the Lord and His devotees. For them, Brahman is a person with unlimited, attractive qualities, and all living entities are his natural servants. The creation of the world is a result of the Lord’s play



(*līlā*) and therefore it is a real transformation of his power (*śakti*). Liberation means to revive one's loving relationship with the Supreme Lord and participate in his eternal play.

Despite its foundational role in the Hindu theistic traditions, Vedānta found itself on uncertain ground during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, due largely to the rise of influential devotional movements across North India. Some of these movements established their influence by deliberately setting themselves apart from the Vedāntic pursuits of earlier Vaiṣṇava schools. They saw the emphasis on Vedānta as the hallmark of knowledge-oriented systems, in contrast to their own exclusive absorption in devotion (*bhakti*). Indeed, some traditions rejected any kind of intellectual engagement as a diversion on the path of pure devotion.

The Caitanya tradition of Bengal, however, attempted the more difficult task of creating a theological system that held these tensions in balance. The school is remarkable in its ability to engage in Vedāntic discourse and at the same time practice an ecstatic form of devotion to Kṛṣṇa. The architect of this balance was the scholar-devotee Jīva Gosvāmī, in the generation immediately following Śrī Caitanya (1486–1534), the founder of the school (Figure 1). Through his four-*sūtra* commentary (*Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā*), Jīva brought his tradition face to face with the time-honored school of Vedānta and in doing so, overcame challenges posed from both within and outside the tradition. The results of this encounter were anything but predictable or pedestrian. Jīva pushes at the boundaries of Vedānta in several significant ways:

- *Purāṇa to Vedānta*: The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* lies at the very heart of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Caitanya regarded the *Purāṇa* as the perfect and natural commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, having been written by the author himself, Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa. This meant that any other commentary on the text was deemed unnecessary. Clearly, this posed a challenge for Jīva Gosvāmī, whose task it was to bring Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism into the arena of Vedāntic discourse. In the end, however, the limitation turned out to be a blessing in disguise. The *Bhāgavata* is indeed replete with Vedāntic themes, and because it enjoys undisputed pre-eminence among followers of Caitanya, it provided an excellent bridge for the community to enter the realm of Vedānta. Jīva's *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā* represents the first *Purāṇa*-based commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Particularly interesting is his use of Śrīdhara Svāmī, the author of the prestigious *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.
- *Syncretic sources*: Not only does Jīva blur boundaries of genre in his work, he also crosses traditional lines of difference between Vedāntic teachers. Jīva employs terminology, concepts, and themes from Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva, the founders of the three largest schools of Vedānta. He avoids reinventing the wheel, for when he sees that a particular argument



*Figure 1* Caitanya and his close associate Nityānanda. A relief carving located at the Rādhā-Damodara temple in Jaipur, Rajasthan.

Source: Photograph by Shyamal Krishna

has already been well made elsewhere, he simply directs the reader accordingly. In this way, he brings a range of diverse thinkers into dialogue, even on issues of traditional disagreement.

- *Vedānta to prema*: For followers of Caitanya, the goal of all philosophy and practice is to cultivate unmotivated, spontaneous love for Kṛṣṇa (*prema*). The traditional Hindu aims of religion, wealth, pleasure, and even liberation are rejected in favor of a fifth and final goal, namely, pure love. Any endeavor that does not ultimately lead to this end is considered useless. Thus, the traditional purpose of Vedāntic study is transformed, for now its main function is not to provide liberation from the cycle of rebirth. Instead, through the study of Vedānta one gains an acceptable, scriptural foundation for the experience of pure love.

- *Confluence of traditions:* Jīva Gosvāmī was situated on the cusp between a solid and time-tested heritage of Sanskrit Vedāntic exegesis and a fresh yet powerful tide of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, much of which was being expressed in vernacular languages. His writing crosses what we today would call “disciplinary boundaries,” for he brought into dialogue four powerful streams of classical Hinduism: (1) the various systems of Vedānta; (2) the ecstatic *bhakti* movements; (3) the Purāṇic commentarial tradition; and (4) the aesthetic theory of Sanskrit poetics. With training in, and commitments to, all of these traditions, Jīva Gosvāmī was able to combine them together with considerable skill and ingenuity, and yet still produce a distinctly Caitanya Vaiṣṇava system of theology.

### Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism

While all Vaiṣṇavas agree that the Supreme Lord is Viṣṇu—in any one of his many forms—Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas place their devotion particularly in Śrī Kṛṣṇa. For them, God’s preeminence does not lie in his majesty, opulence, or power, nor do these awesome attributes provide enough reason to love him. The Supreme Deity is above all the lord of sweetness—a blue-hued cowherd boy who charms his friends and family with his beauty, sweet words, and the sound of his flute. This boy Kṛṣṇa is the basis of the impersonal Brahman described by the Upaniṣads, the Supreme Self of the *Yoga-sūtras*, the creator of the universe, and the origin of innumerable divinities. Yet he is concerned with only one task—to enjoy relationships of love with his devotees. Every individual has a unique and personal relationship with Kṛṣṇa—as a servant, friend, parent, or lover. The exemplars of service in these relationships are the residents of Vṛndāvana, whose love for Kṛṣṇa springs not from regard for his majesty, but from spontaneous attachment. The highest of these devotees is Śrī Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa’s beloved consort and personal energy, who is inseparable from him (Figure 2).

Kṛṣṇa possesses infinite energies (*śaktis*), by which he creates and enjoys all that exists. Kṛṣṇa and his energies are inconceivably one and different at the same time, a relationship known technically as *acintya-bhedābheda*. Kṛṣṇa’s energies are pervaded by him, coexistent with him, dependent upon him, and controlled by him. They are the source of all the variety and splendor found in both the phenomenal and spiritual worlds, and they are inseparably associated with the Lord. That is, there is no time or place where Kṛṣṇa exists without his abode, devotees, or attendant paraphernalia. Moreover, the energies of God are dynamic and eventful; they make the spiritual world a realm of activity, relationships, and freshness.

It is the aspiration of devotees to re-establish their personal relationship with Kṛṣṇa and recover their natural service to him. This becomes possible by the careful execution of daily devotional practice according to rules laid down in scripture. Five types of practice are considered most important for





Figure 2 The images of Rādhā and Dāmodara (Kṛṣṇa) worshiped by Jīva Gosvāmī. They reside today in Jaipur.

Source: Photograph by Malay Goswami

developing loving devotion (*bhakti*): (1) associating with devotees; (2) chanting Kṛṣṇa's name; (3) studying the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; (4) living in Vṛndāvana; and (5) worshiping the Deity in the temple.<sup>1</sup> The devotee who faithfully performs these activities gradually awakens his or her dormant love for Kṛṣṇa and re-enters the divine realm of Kṛṣṇa's pastimes.

### Jīva Gosvāmī

The Caitanya Vaiṣṇava tradition (*sampradāya*), also known as Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism due to its Bengali origins, was founded in the early sixteenth century by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. Within a short period of forty-eight years,

<sup>1</sup> See *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.22.129 and *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* 1.2.225–244.



Śrī Caitanya spread a wave of devotion to Kṛṣṇa throughout India, particularly in the regions of Bengal, Orissa, and Vṛndāvana. Although he left little by way of written work, the movement he inspired produced an astonishing array of poetical, philosophical, and ritual literature dedicated to Kṛṣṇa. Much of the school's early literature was composed by the six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, who were given a mandate by Caitanya himself to systematize and expound his teachings.<sup>2</sup> They did this exclusively in Sanskrit, despite the increasing use of the vernaculars during their time.

Of the six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, the youngest and most prolific was Jīva Gosvāmī (Figure 3). To the community of Vaiṣṇavas who consider themselves followers of Caitanya, Jīva Gosvāmī epitomizes—from his own time to the present day—the highest ideal of devotional erudition used in the service of Kṛṣṇa. Indeed, teachers and scholars of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism have used superlatives freely in describing his accomplishments. A.C. Bhaktivedānta Swami Prabhupāda calls Jīva Gosvāmī “the greatest scholar of Śrīmad Bhāgavatam” (*Bhāgavata*, vol. 2, 2.9.32); S.K. De, “the highest court of appeal in doctrinal matters so long as he lived” (1980: 150); Melville Kennedy, “the greatest theologian of the Brindaban group” (1993: 137); Stuart Elkman, “an unusually versatile and prolific writer” (1986: 23); and Janardan Chakravarti, “one of the greatest of philosophers that India ever produced” (1975: 59).

Jīva Gosvāmī's reputation derives largely from his versatile and vigorous pen. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja estimates the size of his writings as 400,000 verses.<sup>3</sup> A list by Jīva's student, Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārī, lists over twenty-five works, which can be classified into four types: treatises on theology and philosophy, commentaries on other works, manuals on grammar and poetics, and literary compositions (Brzezinski, 1990: 29). The best-known works in each category are the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, the *Durgama-saṅgamanī* commentary on Rūpa

<sup>2</sup> The six Gosvāmīs are Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunāthadāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Gopala Bhaṭṭa and Jīva. Rūpa and Sanātana were the seniormost; once they had settled in Vṛndāvana, the others were sent at different times to join them.

<sup>3</sup> bhāgavata-sandarbha-nāma kaila grantha-sāra  
bhāgavata-siddhānta tādān pāye pāra  
gopāla-campū nāma grantha sāra kaila  
vraja-prema-līlā-rasa-sāra dekhāila  
ṣaṭ sandarbhe kṛṣṇa-prematattva prakāśila  
cāri-lakṣa grantha teṅho vistāra karila

He wrote the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, the essence of scriptures. There, we find the limit of the conclusions of the *Bhāgavata*. He (also) wrote the *Gopālacampū*, the essence of scriptures. There, he showed the essence of the *rasa* found in the loving pastimes of Vraja. In the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha*, he revealed the truth of love for Kṛṣṇa. Thus, he composed a vast literature of 400,000 verses.

(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 3.4.229–231)



Figure 3 Jīva Gosvāmī.

Gosvāmī's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, the *Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*, and the *Gopālacampū*, respectively. Depending on the nature of the work, Jīva draws on a range of Upaniṣadic, Purāṇic, commentarial, or technical literature in his writing. Naturally, his immediate sources are the older Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, especially his uncles Rūpa and Sanātana (Figure 4), to whom he offers obeisance at the beginning of most of his works.

Jīva Gosvāmī's importance for the early Caitanya movement, however, was not simply a result of his literary output or theological genius. Almost from the time he arrived in Vṛndāvana to assist his uncles, Jīva was involved in securing the future of the fledgling movement, in terms of both its physical



Figure 4 The Six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana. Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmī are in the center.

and theological assets. His name is recorded in several legal documents relating to land for the Gosvāmīs' temples. The most significant of these is an edict dated 1568, wherein the Mughal Emperor Akbar gives official recognition to the custodians of the Madana-mohana and Govindadeva temples at the behest of the Rajput king, Toḍarmal, who in turn made his request on behalf of Jīva Gosvāmī (Brzezinski 1990: 21). It seems that Rūpa Gosvāmī had already passed away by this time, leaving legal responsibility for the temples in the hands of Jīva.

Jīva was also conscious of his responsibility for maintaining the theological unity and vitality of Caitanya's movement. In *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal*, Ramakanta Chakrabarty notes that differences of opinion arose within the Bengali Vaiṣṇava community after Caitanya's departure due to the lack of any "comprehensive theological and ritualistic structure" (1985: 207). Jīva worked to provide this structure, not only by writing theological texts such as the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā*, but also by training the second generation of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas, most notably Śrīnivāsa, Narottama, and Śyāmānanda. Through them, he disseminated the Gosvāmī literature to Bengal and Orissa, and created strategies to bring the various branches of Caitanya's followers together. Brzezinski writes:

Jīva Gosvāmī . . . evidently had a strong hold on both the emerging and established leaders of the post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, as is evident through numerous visits made by not only the above-mentioned trio and their disciples, but by other important figures. Most prominent amongst these was, no doubt, the wife of Nityānanda, Jāhnavā Devī, who went to Vṛndāvana with a large group of disciples at least twice. On both occasions, although treated with great deference by Jīva, she received instructions from him.

(1990: 24)

Conscious of his responsibilities till the very end, Jīva left a will detailing how the Gosvāmī temples, libraries, and other assets should be managed and perpetuated in his absence. The manuscript, signed by many noteworthy Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas of the time, is the earliest extant document of its kind in India.<sup>4</sup>

Other than Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the author of *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, none of Caitanya's biographers mention Jīva, for he had no direct role to play in Caitanya's life.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, information can be gleaned from later Bengali works and inferred from what we know of Jīva's uncles, Rūpa and Sanātana, who were close associates of Caitanya.<sup>6</sup> Jīva's father, Vallabha Mallik, was the youngest of the three brothers and, like Rūpa and Sanātana, was employed in the service of the Bengal government.<sup>7</sup> He met Caitanya for the first time along with his brothers in Rāmakeli (Bengal), where he received the name Anupama. He was present in Prayāga in the year 1516, when Caitanya instructed Rūpa in the theology of *bhakti*. Upon returning to Bengal, however, Anupama passed away unexpectedly. The latest possible year for Jīva's birth, therefore, is 1517.

As a boy, Jīva decided to follow in the footsteps of his uncles and lead a life of renunciation in Vṛndāvana. At the age of 24 (some sources say 12), he left home, journeying first to Navadvīpa where he met Nityānanda and

<sup>4</sup> See Tarapada Mukherjee and J.C. Wright, "An Early Testamentary Document in Sanskrit" (1979).

<sup>5</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja respects Jīva Gosvāmī as one of his teachers (*śikṣā-guru*). He relates the story of Jīva's meeting with Nityānanda, a close companion of Caitanya, and highlights the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* as a work of exceptional scholarship. See *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 3.4.228–235. Since Kṛṣṇadāsa drew much of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*'s philosophical content from the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs, his work will be a good source for further discussion of themes explored in this book.

<sup>6</sup> Jan Brzezinski has thoroughly researched and documented Jīva Gosvāmī's life in his doctoral thesis on the *Gopālacampū* (1990: 14–57), using original Bengali and Sanskrit sources, and taking into account differences of opinion among scholars of the tradition. Most of the information presented here is drawn from the first chapter of the thesis, and the reader is encouraged to consult this work for further details and bibliographic information.

<sup>7</sup> Jīva records his family lineage at the end of the *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.



received his blessings, along with a tour of Caitanya's childhood home. He then traveled to Kāśī, where he studied Sanskrit grammar and philosophy. The exact duration or content of his studies are not known, although the *Bhakti-ratnākara* of Narahari Cakravartī mentions one Madhusūdana Vācaspati as his teacher.<sup>8</sup> In any case, Jīva was present in Vṛndāvana by 1541, the year *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* was completed, since he helped Rūpa edit the book. He was loved by the other Gosvāmīs as a trusted student and colleague, and at least three of them (Sanātana, Rūpa, and Raghunāthadāsa) left their assets to him. Jīva passed away in Vṛndāvana after 1608, the year in which he wrote his will.

### The *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*

Jīva Gosvāmī's *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā* is found at the end of his Paramātmā-sandarbha (section 105), which is itself part of a much larger work called *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* or *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha*. The word "sandarbha" literally means "weaving" or "arranging"; the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* is thematic arrangement of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, woven with the intention of systematically and comprehensively expounding Caitanya Vaiṣṇava doctrine and practice. The text is complete in six volumes, called Tattva-, Bhagavat-, Paramātmā-, Kṛṣṇa-, Bhakti- and Prīti-sandarbhas.<sup>9</sup> The first three are especially rich in philosophical content, and the third engages directly with the standard issues of relevance to Vedānta. A brief overview of all six Sandarbhas is provided in the Appendix.

The *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* was probably one of Jīva's early works. He refers to or quotes from it in a number of his other writings, including the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇārcanā-dīpikā*, *Krama-sandarbha*, his *Dig-darśinī* commentary on the *Brahma-saṁhitā*, the *Durgama-saṅgamūṇī* commentary on the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, and the *Gopālācampū*. Brzezinski estimates the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*'s composition to have been between 1555 and 1561 (1990: 20). The former year is the date of his first work, *Mādhava-mahotsava*, and the latter is the year in which Devakīnandana Dāsa wrote the *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*, wherein he praises Jīva Gosvāmī as a great scholar and devotee. Since Jīva's reputation was clearly established by this time, it is likely that he had already written his main philosophical work, the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*.

<sup>8</sup> There is a difference of opinion as to the identity of this Madhusūdana Vācaspati. While S.K. De claims that he was none other than the famous Advaitin Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (1986: 111), Nareshchandra Jana argues more convincingly that Sarasvatī would have been too young then to become Jīva's teacher (1970: 151).

<sup>9</sup> It is important to clearly distinguish the terms "Bhāgavata-sandarbha" and "Bhagavat-sandarbha." The former is the title of the entire work consisting of six treatises, while the latter is the title of only the second treatise.

## Editorial notes

A few remarks about the editorial conventions followed in this book are in order. When referring to passages from the Sandarbhas, I provide the section number as given in Śyāmdās's edition of the text (which uses the same numbering system as Purīdās's edition), except for the *Tattva-sandarbha*, for which I use Elkman's section numbering system. For references from the Caitanya-caritāmṛta, I follow the numbering used in A.C. Bhaktivedānta Swami Prabhupāda's edition.<sup>10</sup> For other primary sources, I provide the name of the edition used, unless the numbering system is standard enough to prevent confusion.

There is no internal paragraph or other division system in the *Catuhṣūtrī Ṭīkā*, since the entire text comprises one section (*anuccheda*) of the *Paramātmā-sandarbha*. Thus, when quoting from my own translation of the *Ṭīkā* (found in Part II of this book), I do not give a location for the passage. The passage should not be difficult to locate, however, since the commentary on any given *sūtra* is not very long.

All translations from Bengali, Hindi, and Sanskrit sources are my own, unless otherwise credited, either in a footnote or parenthetical citation.

<sup>10</sup> All of Bhaktivedānta Swami's works, including the complete text of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, are available as a single database, *The Complete Teachings*, that can be searched using the Folio program. This program was immensely useful to me for looking up passages and performing broad searches on a particular topic.

Part I

JĪVA GOSVĀMĪ'S SYSTEM  
OF VEDĀNTA





# BHAKTI AND VEDĀNTA: DO THEY MIX?

## Challenges and possibilities for Vedāntic discourse

In the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us that wherever Śrī Caitanya would travel, he would “inundate” the place with ecstatic love for Kṛṣṇa. The residents would sing the name of Kṛṣṇa and dance with abandon, disregarding norms of social behavior. This transformation would take place simply upon seeing Caitanya, whose person was overflowing with the sentiments of *bhakti*, sweeping passers-by into its wave.<sup>1</sup> Yet, mysteriously, the city of Kāśī (present-day Benares) escaped the infectious effects of Caitanya’s personality. During his first visit to Kāśī, Caitanya himself noted his lack of success:

I have come to the city of Kāśī to sell my emotional goods, but there are no customers. With no sales, I will take my goods and go home. But I came here carrying a heavy load. How will I take it back? So if I get even a little of its actual value, I will sell it here.<sup>2</sup>

The reason given for this resistance is that Kāśī was overrun with Māyāvādīs—followers of Śaṅkara’s doctrine of nondualism (Advaita). Such

<sup>1</sup> See *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.7.96–120 and 2.9.7–12. For example,

darśane “vaiṣṇava” haila, bale “kṛṣṇa” “hari”  
premāveśe nāce loka ūrdhva bāhu kari  
(2.7.116)

ei-mata paramparāya deśa “vaiṣṇava” haila  
kṛṣṇa-nāmāmṛta-vanyāya deśa bhāsāila  
(2.7.118)

<sup>2</sup> bhāvakāli vecite āmi āilāna kāśī-pure  
grāhaka nāhi, nā vikāya, lañā yāba ghare  
bhārī bojhā lañā āilāna, kemane lañā yāba  
alpa-svalpa-mūlya pāile, ethāi veciba  
(2.17.144–145)

persons, due to being offenders to Kṛṣṇa, are unable to chant his name.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the next day, Caitanya left Kāśī, in apparent defeat, heading towards Vṛndāvana. On his return, however, his followers in Kāśī beg him to meet with the Advaitin renunciates (*sannyāsīs*). The devotees are pained to hear the *sannyāsīs*' criticisms of Caitanya, and can tolerate them no longer. Caitanya agrees, and engages in a Vedāntic debate with the Advaitins, explaining the *Brahma-sūtra* in accordance with Vaiṣṇava theology. Owing to Caitanya's personal beauty, humility, and philosophical acumen, the *sannyāsīs*, headed by Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī, are convinced of his interpretation, and convert to Vaiṣṇavism.

Now, Prakāśānanda's main criticism of Caitanya had been that he did not engage in the study of Vedānta, as all *sannyāsīs* must. Instead, Caitanya spent his time singing and dancing with other Kṛṣṇa devotees.<sup>4</sup> "Caitanya is an illiterate *sannyāsī* who doesn't know his own duty," Prakāśānanda concluded. "Thus he has become a sentimentalist (*bhāvuka*), wandering in the company of other sentimentalists."<sup>5</sup> Prakāśānanda had even heard of the conversion of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, and decided that the great scholar must have gone mad. Why else would a respectable person adopt such behavior?

This narrative not only highlights the importance of Vedāntic competence in brahmanical circles, but also reveals the school's awareness that some such competence was necessary, if only for a favorable public image.<sup>6</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja makes it clear that what Prakāśānanda is looking for, and the followers of Caitanya are unable to provide, is a convincing exposition

<sup>3</sup> prabhu kahe,—māyāvādī kṛṣṇe aparādhī . . .  
ataeva tāra mukhe nā āise kṛṣṇa-nāma  
(2.17.129–130)

<sup>4</sup> caitanya-nāma tāñra, bhāvuka-gaṇa lañā  
deṣe deṣe grāme grāme bule nācāñā

<sup>5</sup> mūrkhā sannyāsī nija-dharma nāhi jāne  
bhāvuka ha-iyā phere bhāvukera sane  
(1.7.42)

<sup>6</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa tells this story twice in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*: first in chapter 7 of the *Āditilā*, and second in Chapters 20 and 25 of *Madhya-līlā* (the intervening chapters being his visit to Vraja and his meetings with Rūpa and Sanātana). The first rendition focuses on the discussion between Caitanya and the *sannyāsīs*, while the second describes more of the Māyāvādīs' criticisms and devotees' distress. In other words, in the first instance, the story is placed in its appropriate theological context in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (in the *Āditilā*, alongside discussion of the Pañca-tattva), whereas in the second instance, the story is placed in its chronological context (at the end of Caitanya's tour of the subcontinent).

Although the story of the Kāśī *sannyāsīs*' conversion is absent from Vṛndāvana Dāsa Ṭhākura's *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, there is reference to, and criticism of, Prakāśānanda and his Advaitic views. See 2.3.37–41 and 2.20.32–46.

of Vedānta, or at least evidence that they participate in Vedāntic study at all. When asked why he does not study Vedānta in the company of other *sannyāsīs*, Caitanya responds with a very personal account of the virtues and effects of singing Kṛṣṇa's names, after hearing which the *sannyāsīs* themselves experience a change of heart.<sup>7</sup> But change of heart does not entail change of mind, and Prakāśānanda returns to his original complaint, "Fine, perform bhakti to Kṛṣṇa. We are all satisfied with it. But why don't you study Vedānta? What is wrong with that?"<sup>8</sup> It is only when Caitanya speaks directly on the *Brahma-sūtra*, taking Śaṅkara's commentary to task, and presenting his own alternative, that the *sannyāsīs* are convinced.<sup>9</sup>

In both attempts at convincing the Advaitin *sannyāsīs*, Caitanya ultimately led them to a description of the glories of love for Kṛṣṇa (*prema*) and its effects, but in the second instance the method used was more successful. This highlights two primary facets of the Gauḍīya approach to Vedānta—first, an acknowledgement that engagement in Vedānta is necessary to gain a generally acceptable, scriptural foundation for the emotions of *bhakti*, and second, the insistence that any degree of engagement must lead to the ultimate goal of *prema*, or else it is pointless.

The first facet is not as obvious as it may initially seem. Although a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* has been the definitive philosophical statement of any theistic school since the time of Śaṅkara, some younger Vaiṣṇava *sampradāyas* have done away with the need for philosophical speculation altogether, and most eschew it to varying degrees. A good case in point is the Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya* of Śrī Hita Harivaṁśa, which was contiguous with the Caitanya *sampradāya* both in time (sixteenth century) and location (Vṛndāvana). Followers of Hita Harivaṁśa distinguish themselves from other Vaiṣṇava *sampradāyas* by pointing out that they do not subscribe to "any general or particular philosophical standpoint (*dārśanika matavāda*)," nor are they "dependent in every way on ancient *bhakti* texts [such as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*]" (Lalitācaraṇa Gosvāmī 57).<sup>10</sup> Although *prema* is the essence of all the Vedas, Hita Harivaṁśa

declared it to be beyond all schools of Vedānta and said that the help of any Vedantic school was unnecessary for its establishment. Even

<sup>7</sup> For Caitanya's initial response, see *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 1.7.71–102.

<sup>8</sup> kṛṣṇe bhakti kara—ihāya sabāra santoṣa  
vedānta nā śuna kene, tāra kibā doṣa  
(1.7.101)

<sup>9</sup> *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 1.106–146.

<sup>10</sup> All quotations from Gosvāmī's work are in translation from the original Hindi.

prior to this, in matters of *bhakti*, the predominance of the schools of Vedānta, beginning with Rāmānuja, had lost its significance.  
(ibid.: 54–55)

The poetry (*vāṇī*) of Hita Harivaṁśa is considered the highest means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*). Because the poetry is based on unobstructed, pure experience, it is self-validating, just like the words of the Vedas, and requires no validation from other books (ibid.: 57).<sup>11</sup>

In his classic work, *Śrī Hita Harivaṁśa Gosvāmī: Siddhānta Aur Sāhitya*, Lalitācaraṇa Gosvāmī relates how the devotional poet Harirāma Vyāsa became a follower of Hita Harivaṁśa. Having heard one verse by Śrī Hita, Vyāsa was drawn to Vṛndāvana to meet him. Vyāsa had wanted to discuss scriptural texts with the saint in order to allay his doubts, and for this purpose he brought many books with him. But with one verse, Hita Harivaṁśa untied the knots of Harirāma Vyāsa's heart.<sup>12</sup> In that verse, he said that the mind does not become one-pointed by entangling it in many scriptures, and without one-pointedness, there is no happiness. *Prema* for Śyāmasundara [Kṛṣṇa] is the only means of being saved from the clutches of time, and *prema* can be obtained only by the mercy of his devotees. After hearing this verse, Vyāsa threw his books in the Yamunā River and worshiped the devotees for his entire life. From this account, Gosvāmī surmises that "by discussion, a philosophical viewpoint can be established, but not the conclusion of *prema*. For this one needs only *prema*-filled mind, activities, and poetry" (ibid.: 56).

It is interesting to note the parallels and differences in this story with the account of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya's conversion in the *Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka* of Kavikarṇapūra.<sup>13</sup> Sārvabhauma was a resident of Jagannātha Purī, and famous for his knowledge of Vedānta and logic, upon which he had written several books (Dimock 1966: 16). As in the story of Prakāśānanda, it is the followers of Caitanya who request him to change the scholar's mind and convert Sārvabhauma to Vaiṣṇavism,<sup>14</sup> for they are unable to do so themselves. Sārvabhauma is skeptical of Caitanya's divinity and unconvinced by the devotees' arguments. He is more concerned with the fact that Caitanya belongs to the lower, Bhārati order of *sannyāsīs*.

<sup>11</sup> See also Snell, *The Eighty-four Hymns of Hita Harivaṁśa*, (1991: 2–3).

<sup>12</sup> There is a word-play with *grantha* ("book," literally, "that which is bound"), and *granthī* (knot). "Iske liye ve apne sāth anek granth bhī laye the kintu śrīhit harivaṁś ne ek pad ke dvārā unkī hṛday-granthiyom ko khol diyā."

<sup>13</sup> Kavikarṇapūra was the son of Śivānanda Sena, a close associate of Caitanya from Bengal. In many of his narratives, Kṛṣṇadāsa follows Karṇapūra closely, and quotes often from his Sanskrit drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*.

<sup>14</sup> *Caitanya-candrodaya*, Act 6, paragraphs 49–50.



Sārvabhauma volunteers to teach him Vedānta and reinitiate him into a higher order.<sup>15</sup> One morning, however, Caitanya comes to Sārvabhauma's room, wakes him up, and gives him some food offered to Jagannātha to eat. This sacred food from the hand of Caitanya cause an immediate transformation in heart, and Sārvabhauma displays all the bodily changes (*sāttvika-vikāras*) symptomatic of *prema*.<sup>16</sup>

But Karṇapūra's account does not end here. When Caitanya's followers gather outside the room, Sārvabhauma announces that he is fully convinced that Caitanya is the Supreme Viṣṇu himself. Caitanya is at first embarrassed by this, but then turns aside and says (to the audience) "Aha! Now I will test his heart." He then asks Sārvabhauma, "Sir, what scripture can you cite to support these words?"<sup>17</sup> In reply, Sārvabhauma launches into a lengthy soliloquy, arguing with great force for the salient points of Caitanyite theology. His style and content are characteristically Vedāntic, including an etymology of "Brahman"<sup>18</sup> and several standard quotations from the Upaniṣads.<sup>19</sup> Sārvabhauma concludes with the statement, "Therefore, the import of the Vedas is that Kṛṣṇa possesses a blissful form."<sup>20</sup>

As with the story of Prakāśānanda, we see here the same dual approach to the study of Vedānta in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism: recognition of its necessity as a foundation for *bhakti*, and the conviction that any such study should lead to *prema*. Unlike the Rādhāvallabha tradition, the discovery of *prema*

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 6.37–8.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 6.59–60.

<sup>17</sup> (sva-gatam) aho idānīm asyāśayaḥ parīkṣaṇīyaḥ. (prakāśam) haṁho mahāśaya  
nirucyātām kasmāt śāstrārthaḥ  
(ibid., 6.66)

<sup>18</sup> yasmin bṛhattvād atha bṛhṇhaṇatvān-  
mukhyārthavatve saviśeṣatāyām  
ye nirviśeṣatvam udīrayanti  
tenaiva tat sādhayitum samarthāḥ  
(ibid.: 6.67)

<sup>19</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, develops the philosophical defense even further, and puts the argumentation in the form of a debate between Caitanya and Sārvabhauma, just as with Prakāśānanda. It is at the end of this discussion that Sārvabhauma becomes convinced of Caitanya's divinity, and sings the name of Kṛṣṇa, displaying the ecstatic symptoms of *prema*. In Kṛṣṇadāsa's account, the debate takes place the day before Caitanya brings Sārvabhauma the *prasāda*, after eating which Sārvabhauma again experiences ecstatic transformations. The two accounts are reconcilable, since in the *Caitanya-candrodaya*, Caitanya affirms that he will take up Sārvabhauma's offer to study Vedānta (as in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*). Sārvabhauma's soliloquy at the end is presumably a result of that discussion. Indeed, Karṇapūra's account in his other major work on Caitanya, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta-mahākāvya*, agrees fully with Kṛṣṇadāsa's description.

<sup>20</sup> ato mūrtānanda eva kṛṣṇa iti śāstrārthaḥ (*Caitanya-candrodaya* 6.72).

does not lead to the categorical rejection of academic pursuits,<sup>21</sup> but only a reassessment of them in the light of the devotee's newfound faith. The conclusions of Vedānta become subservient to the experience of *bhakti*.

The Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya* is an example of a *bhakti* tradition which has gone all the way in its exclusive embrace of the path of love (*rāga-mārga*). While the Caitanya tradition does not go as far in its rejection of scripture-based practice and study, still it is by no means free of the tendency for such distancing. A general antipathy towards extensive involvement in the pursuit of knowledge is a common feature of the *bhakti* traditions of the period, and the Caitanya *sampradāya* is no exception. This aversion operates at the most fundamental level and, indeed, is enshrined in the very definition of *bhakti*. In the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, Rūpa Gosvāmī defines highest devotion (*uttamā bhakti*) as follows: "The highest devotion is constant and devoted service to Kṛṣṇa performed in a favorable way. It is free of all other desires and unobscured by knowledge [*jñāna*] or fruitive activity [*karma*]."<sup>22</sup> This definition functions as the "root verse" from which the various aspects of *bhakti* are drawn.

In order to appreciate the significance of this statement, it is useful to compare it with other definitions of *bhakti* with which Rūpa Gosvāmī was no doubt familiar. In his *Śrībhāṣya*, Rāmānuja defines *bhakti* in terms of knowledge (*vedana*) and worship (*upāsana*):

It has thereby been explained that the *vedana* (or knowledge) which is enjoined in all the Upanishads, as the means of attaining final release, is (the same as) *upāsana* (or worship) . . . That very same *vedana* (or knowledge), which is of the form of *upāsana* (or worship), has the character of firm memory. . . . Firm memory of this same character is denoted by the word *bhakti* (devotion).

(Rangacharya 1988: 15–17)

Although for Rāmānuja, the terms *vedana* (knowledge), *dhyāna* (meditation), *upāsana* (worship), *dhruvāsmṛti* (firm memory), and *bhakti* all have the same

<sup>21</sup> Rūpa Gosvāmī says in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (1.2.101):

śruti-smṛti-purāṇādi-pañcarātra-vidhiṁ vinā  
aikāntikī harer bhaktir utpātāyaiva kalpate

Exclusive *bhakti* to Hari that is (performed) without the injunctions of *śruti*, *smṛti*, *purāṇa*, and *pañcarātra* produces only a public disturbance.

<sup>22</sup> anyābhilāṣitā-śūnyaṁ jñāna-karmādy-anāvṛtam  
ānukūlyena kṛṣṇānu-śīlanaṁ bhaktir uttamā

(1.1.11)

referent,<sup>23</sup> it is nevertheless true that *bhakti* is at least linguistically subsequent to the others.<sup>24</sup> Vedānta Deśika makes this more explicit when he defines *bhakti* as a specification of general terms such as *jñāna* (knowledge) and *dhyāna* (meditation). In actual practice, *bhakti* is the culmination of a process that begins with *vedana* and progresses through the stages of meditation, firm memory, and vision of the Lord (Srinivasachari 1978: 284–285).<sup>25</sup>

The Mādhva tradition sharpens the dialectic by honing in directly on the relationship between knowledge and devotion, preferring the term *jñāna* to other Upaniṣadic alternatives. Madhva treats *jñāna* and *bhakti* as different but closely interconnected entities, and he unhesitatingly emphasizes the necessity of one for the other. *Jñāna* is both a constituent of<sup>26</sup> and prerequisite for *bhakti*, which is defined as “eternal, transcendent love that is preceded by *jñāna*” (Sharma 1962: 296).<sup>27</sup>

This emphasis on *jñāna* as a vital component of *bhakti* prompts B.N.K. Sharma to contrast Madhva’s *bhakti* with the more “sensuous and passionate” *bhakti* found in

certain forms of North Indian Vaiṣṇavism, like those of Jayadeva, Caitanya and Vallabha . . . wherein the love of God is placed on terms of the tender quality softening down to the rapturous emotion of conjugal love and wherein we come across most of those pathological symptoms of amorous longings which have been systematically reviewed and vividly described in the works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. But Madhva’s conception of Bhakti avoids these emotional excesses and identifications and remains at its exalted intellectual and spiritual level of firm philosophic devotion to the Supreme Lord of the Universe.

(ibid.: 290)

While from a Mādhva perspective the *bhakti* of Caitanya may be prone to “emotional excesses,” it is precisely the (perceived) lack of emotional content

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of *bhakti* as *upāsana* in post-Rāmānuja Śrīvaiṣṇavism, see Clooney’s article, “For Bhakti is Synonymous with Upāsana.”

<sup>24</sup> The basic problem is that the Upaniṣads do not speak directly about *bhakti*, and so *bhakti* must be understood in terms of knowledge and worship, so that it can be established as a direct means to *mokṣa* (Chari 281).

<sup>25</sup> vedanam dhyāna-viśrāntam dhyānam śrāntam dhruvā-smṛtau; sa ca dr̥ṣṭi-vamabhyeti dr̥ṣṭiḥ bhaktitvam icchati.

<sup>26</sup> *jñānasya bhakti-bhāgavatvāt bhaktir jñānam itīryate* (*Anuvyākhyā*). This and the following quotations of Madhva are taken from B.N.K. Sharma, *The Philosophy of Madhvācārya* (1962: 294–296).

<sup>27</sup> *jñāna-pūrvah paraḥ sneho nityo bhaktir itīryate* (*Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*).

that makes the Mādhva school an object of criticism by Caitanya. Perhaps it is Madhva's *jñāna*-oriented *bhakti* that prompted Caitanya to be less than generous in his meeting with the Mādhva renunciates in Uḍupi. He said:

There are two persons who are devoid of *bhakti*, namely, those engaged in fruitive activity (*karmīs*) and those pursuing knowledge (*jñānīs*). In your *sampradāya* I can see signs of both of them. In all, I see one good quality in your *sampradāya*: you accept the Lord's form as real, and you are convinced that he is the Supreme Lord.<sup>28</sup>

Whether or not the criticism holds water is of secondary importance for our purposes. The primary concern here is the *attitude* towards *jñāna* and its relationship to *bhakti* in the Caitanya tradition. The problem is partly terminological, for a word like *jñāna* acquires associations and meanings that are then applied to every occurrence of the word. The scope of a concept is often defined by what it is not, and in Caitanya literature, pure *bhakti* is set in clear contrast to the pursuit of knowledge and theoretical speculation. The word "jñāna" is often the term of choice to refer to such activity, and so it naturally becomes the repository of the distaste associated with it.

But what exactly is *jñāna*? And why is it so problematic for the cultivation of devotion? Let us turn again to the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, where we found the basic definition of *bhakti*. In the following chapter, Rūpa Gosvāmī writes, "Knowledge and renunciation are initially a little useful for entering the path of devotion, but they are not accepted as practices of devotion."<sup>29</sup> Why? "The saints believe that knowledge and renunciation generally cause a hardening of the heart, whereas devotion is tender by nature." In his commentary, Jīva explains that knowledge here refers to knowledge of Brahman. This comes in three varieties: knowledge of the self, knowledge of the Supreme, and knowledge of the individual soul's oneness with the Supreme. The last variety clearly refers to the nondual knowledge taught by the Advaitins and it must be rejected by devotional aspirants, for it destroys the possibility of a loving relationship between the Lord and his devotee. The other two types are useful for *bhakti* in the beginning, but even they must

<sup>28</sup> prabhu kahe,—karmī, jñānī,—dui bhakti-hīna  
tomāra sampradāye dekhi sei dui cihna  
sabe, eka guṇa dekhi tomāra sampradāye  
satya-vigraha kari' īśvare karaha niscaye  
(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.9.276–277)

<sup>29</sup> jñāna-vairāgyayor bhakti-praveśyopayogitā  
īśat prathamam eveti nāṅgatvam ucitam tayoh  
yad ubhe citta-kāṭhinyahetū prāyaḥ satām mate  
sukumāra-svabhāveyaṁ bhaktis tad dhetur īritā  
(1.2.248–249)



be indulged in with moderation, for too much thought given to refuting different kinds of viewpoints can harden the heart. A hard heart hampers the tasting of *rasa*—the sweet, intensified experience of devotion to Kṛṣṇa.

The final problem with the pursuit of *jñāna* is that its ultimate goal is usually liberation, or *mokṣa*. The aspiration for freedom from the world of suffering is essentially a selfish desire—and any kind of selfishness is detrimental to the path of devotion. We may recall that pure *bhakti* was defined as “free from the desire for anything other than Kṛṣṇa.” Vaiṣṇava literature abounds with the voices of devotees who tell the Lord, “I do not mind repeated birth in this temporal world, as long as I always have the opportunity to live a life of loving service to you.”<sup>30</sup> In his famous conversation with Rāmānanda Rāya in South India, Caitanya asks Rāmānanda, “What is the destination of one who desires liberation?” Rāmānanda’s reply is emphatic:

The crows, who know nothing of *rasa*, suck the (bitter) *nimba* fruit of *jñāna*. But the cuckoos, who know *rasa*, eat the mango-buds of *prema*. The unfortunate *jñānīs* taste dry *jñāna*. But those who are fortunate drink the nectar of *prema* for Kṛṣṇa.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, we find *jñāna* to be problematic in three ways: in content (it advocates nondualism), in application (extensive use causes hardness of heart), and in its goal (liberation). If we recall the conversion stories of both Prakāśānanda and Sārvabhauma, we see these three problems very clearly—both were Advaitins, both were unable to appreciate Caitanya’s joyful *bhakti* due to absorption in Vedāntic study, and both had misunderstood the true goal of their erudition. Any one of these shortcomings can hinder the rise of pure *bhakti*.

This account says nothing, however, about “good” *jñāna*—knowledge that is free of the above characteristics and which does not produce results that are harmful to *bhakti*. Indeed, such knowledge is recommended, even required, for novices on the devotional path. Such knowledge informs aspirants of their eternal nature as servants of Kṛṣṇa; it steadies their practice of devotion, and finally directs them to the ultimate goal of *prema*. It was this *jñāna* that Caitanya used in order to change the minds of Prakāśānanda and Sārvabhauma, and which the latter presented in his speech to the devotees. According to Rūpa Gosvāmī, strong faith that is grounded in sound reasoning

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, the fourth verse of Śrī Caitanya’s Śikṣāṣṭaka (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 3.20.29) or the *Mukunda-mālā-stotra* of Kulaśekhara Alvar, verses 4 and 5.

<sup>31</sup> arasa-jña kāka cūṣe jñāna-nimba-phale  
rasa-jña kokila khāya premāmra-mukule  
abhāgiyā jñānī āsvādaye śuṣka jñāna  
kṛṣṇa-premāmṛta pāna kare bhāgyavān  
(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.8.258–259)

and a thorough knowledge of scripture is the primary characteristic of the first-class devotee. The second-class devotee is one who possesses firm faith, but lacks expertise in scripture and argument.<sup>32</sup>

Indeed, if we return to the definition of pure *bhakti* given in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, we find that there is in fact a place for knowledge within the realm of devotion. The relationship between *bhakti* and *jñāna* is specified by the word "anāvṛta." Devotion is not covered or obscured by knowledge; that is, knowledge should not stand above or in front of devotion. This does not, however, restrict *jñāna* from serving as a foundation or preparation for *bhakti*. Jīva Gosvāmī brings this out clearly in his commentary, where he explains precisely what kind of knowledge is rejected in the verse: "'Jñāna' here refers to investigation into the undifferentiated Brahman and not investigation into the worshipable object, for such knowledge is most certainly required."<sup>33</sup> Once again, it is the knowledge of the Advaitins that poses an obstacle to devotion. The other two kinds of *jñāna* described earlier are in fact necessary for the cultivation of *bhakti*. The practitioner must know both himself and the Lord—and the *difference* between them. This creates fertile ground for the growth of a loving relationship.

An incident from the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* highlights this plainly. One of Caitanya's closest confidants in Purī was Svarūpa Dāmodara, who was entrusted with the task of screening all literary compositions before they reached the ears of Caitanya. A *brāhmaṇa* once arrived in Purī with a drama he had composed about the life of Caitanya. The local devotees appreciated the work, and wanted Caitanya to hear it as well, but Svarūpa Dāmodara would not listen to it:

In the statements of any common poet, there is *rasābhāsa*.<sup>34</sup> There is no happiness in hearing statements which are contrary to the conclusions [of *bhakti*]... One who does not know grammar [*vyākaraṇa*], one who does not know literary figures [*alaṅkāra*], one who has no knowledge of dramaturgy [*nāṭakālaṅkāra*],<sup>35</sup> one who does

<sup>32</sup> *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* 1.2.17–18.

<sup>33</sup> *jñānam atra nirbheda-brahmānusandhānam na tu bhajanīyatvānusandhānam apī tasyāvaśyāpekṣanīyatvāt* (*Durgama-saṅgamanī* 1.1.11).

<sup>34</sup> *Rasābhāsa* is the semblance of *rasa* when it is actually not present. Rūpa Gosvāmī discusses this elaborately in Chapter 9 of the fourth division of *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*.

<sup>35</sup> Even a cursory survey of early Caitanya Vaiṣṇava literature reveals that study of such subjects was not only encouraged, but also nearly required for the devotional reader. Texts such as the *Sāmānya-birudāvalī-lakṣaṇa* and *Nāṭaka-candrikā* of Rūpa Gosvāmī, the *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra, the *Campū-lakṣaṇa* of Jīva Gosvāmī, and the *Kāvya-kaustubha* and *Sāhitya-kaumudī* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa are all examples of works whose primary task is to delineate literary theory. If we add to this list works composed strictly according to the rules of such literary theory, we see that the experience of *rasa* has the potential to include within itself more scholarship than one may at first expect.

not know how to describe the pastimes of Kṛṣṇa, he is condemned. Even more difficult [to describe] are these activities of Caitanya.<sup>36</sup>

But the devotees continue to press Svarūpa, and he finally agrees to listen. Unfortunately, the poet does not get past the opening verse before he is strongly reprimanded by Svarūpa. The poet had described Caitanya as the soul of the body called Jagannātha (the Deity in the temple at Purī), and thus committed two serious blunders: he had equated Jagannātha with an inert material body and had implied that Caitanya assumes a material body like an ordinary living entity. Both views are unacceptable, for Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas regard both Jagannātha and Caitanya as the fully independent Supreme Lord, untouched by matter. Quoting various scriptural passages, Svarūpa Dāmodara explains to the audience the difference between the living entities and the Supreme Lord, and the non-difference between the Lord and his body. The poet is ashamed of his mistake, and is advised by Svarūpa to study the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* with a Vaiṣṇava in order to understand the true conclusions of *bhakti*. “Then your scholarship will be successful.” The message of the story is clear. *Jñāna* is a good thing, but only when it serves as a foundation for the practice of *bhakti* and leads to the desired goal—unmotivated love for Kṛṣṇa.

### The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as mediator

We have seen the tensions surrounding Vedāntic discourse in the Caitanya tradition, especially as evidenced by the writings of the generations immediately preceding and contemporary with Jīva Gosvāmī. The primary challenge is to justify such a venture in the face of more “tasteful” alternatives—that is, narrations and expositions of Kṛṣṇa’s *rasa*-filled pastimes. One resolution lies in transforming the proposed enterprise into a means to that very end, thus infusing an otherwise dry endeavor with the “juice” of *rasa*.

As the first person in his tradition to enter the realm of Vedāntic discourse, Jīva was no doubt aware of and deeply concerned with the issues surrounding his venture and the means of resolving them. A vivid example of this concern is found in Jīva’s Sanskrit grammar, *Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*. As the name suggests, the purpose of this work is to convey the nectar of Kṛṣṇa’s names

<sup>36</sup> “yadvā-tadvā” kavira vākye haya “rasābhāsa”  
siddhānta-viruddha śūnite nā haya ullāsa.  
(3.5.102)

“vyākaraṇa” nāhi jāne, nā jāne “alaṅkāra”  
“nāṭakālaṅkāra”jñāna nāhika yāhāra  
kṛṣṇa-līlā varṇite nā jāne sei chāra  
viśeṣe durgama ei caitanya-vihāra  
(5.104–105)

to the student through the study of grammar. Jīva substitutes the usual technical terminology (*saṁjñā*) and code-letters (*anubandhas*) found in Pāṇinian grammar with names of Kṛṣṇa. The result is that the *sūtras* become strings of Kṛṣṇa's names, which often have a double, theological import as well.<sup>37</sup> In the opening verses of the textbook, Jīva writes:

Those who seek life in the desert of grammar are always faced with troubles and obstacles. Let them drink this nectar of the names of Hari (*harināmāṁṛta*) and dive into it a hundred times. Bowing down with *bhakti* to the sweet Śrī Hari, may the residents of Vraja drink this grammar and the *rasa* of the nectar of Hari's names.<sup>38</sup>

Here Jīva presents in clear terms the justification for writing a work on grammar. What would otherwise be an unacceptably dry subject is transformed by the infusion of Kṛṣṇa's name, and Jīva's book becomes a vehicle for tasting *rasa* through the medium of grammar. Before beginning the section on rules of euphonic combination (*sandhi*), Jīva prays, "With happiness I begin this work on the *sandhi* of letters. May it cause the *sandhi* (conjunction) of my mind with the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa."<sup>39</sup> The verse is more than a play on the word "sandhi." Jīva Gosvāmī is providing both the justification and impetus for writing (and studying) the rules of euphonic combination.

One would expect something similar to be necessary for the study of Vedānta. Jīva Gosvāmī had no prior justification readily available to him, for there was no precedent in the tradition for a systematic Vedāntic exposition. By standards of devotional aesthetics, Vedānta can become a very dry subject, as we saw both in the Rādhāvallabha and Caitanya Vaiṣṇava narratives. Jīva's primary task, therefore, was to engage Vedānta in the service of *rasa*, so as to lead the student from the former to the latter.

<sup>37</sup> "For example, the following sūtra carries two meanings, one is grammatical, the other spiritual. *Samśārasya haraś citi* means 'The ending of a word is dropped before suffixes with [c],' or 'Our material existence (*saṁsāra*) comes to an end (*hara*) when we cultivate spiritual knowledge (*cit*)'." (Kretschmer 19). According to Vṛndāvana Dāsa Ṭhākura and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Caitanya himself taught grammar in this way during his householder days in Navadvīpa. (See *Caitanya-bhāgavata* 2.1.321–325 and *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 1.13.28–29.)

<sup>38</sup> vyākaraṇe maruṇī-vṛti jīvana-lubdhāḥ sadāgha-saṁvighnāḥ  
hari-nāmāṁṛtam etat pibantu śatadhāvagāhantām  
(verse 3)

śrī-hariṁ madhuraṁ natvā hari-nāmāṁṛtaṁ rasam  
vyākaraṇaṁ ca tad bhaktiā pibantu vraja-vāsinaḥ  
(verse 4)

<sup>39</sup> yad idaṁ sandhi-nirmāṇaṁ varṇānāṁ ārabhe mudā  
tena me kṛṣṇa-pādābje manaḥ-sandhir vidhīyatām  
(first verse in the *sandhi-prakaraṇa*)



But more is required than a simple "rasification" in order to pave the path for Vedānta in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Since the time of Śaṅkara, a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* has been the most direct and effective means of entrance into the realm of Vedāntic discourse. A *sampradāya*'s *Brahma-sūtra* commentary functioned as its definitive philosophical statement, both for its own members and to members of other schools. The commentary worked as a polemical tool, procuring for the school a place on the map of Upaniṣadic theology. For the followers of Caitanya, however, this standard means of entrance into Vedānta was unavailable. Caitanya regarded the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the natural commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, having been written by the author himself—Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa—in the maturity of his career.<sup>40</sup> In his conversation with Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī, Caitanya gives evidence for this claim:

[From the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*] "This *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the meaning of the *Brahma-sūtras*, and it settles the import of the *Mahābhārata*. It is a commentary on the *Gāyatrī*, and it is furnished with the meanings of the Vedas. Among *Purāṇas*, the *Bhāgavata* is the like the *Sāma*, and it was spoken directly by Bhagavān. . . ."<sup>41</sup>

[From the *Bhāgavata*] "The essence of the essence of all Vedas and histories is extracted by the *Bhāgavata*."<sup>42</sup> . . . Therefore deliberate on the *Bhāgavata*. From this, you will obtain the essential meanings of the *Sūtras* and *Śrutis*.<sup>43</sup>

Any subsequent, manmade commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, therefore, is redundant, if not unwanted, and may at best serve to elucidate the meanings of the *Bhāgavata*. Thus we find that the *sampradāya* did not receive its first complete commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* until the time of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

<sup>40</sup> ataeva bhāgavata—sūtrera artha-rūpa  
nija-kṛta sūtrera nija-bhāṣya-svarūpa  
(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.25.142)

<sup>41</sup> artho 'yaṁ brahma-sūtrāṇāṁ bhāratārtha-vinirṇayaḥ  
gāyatrī-bhāṣya-rūpo 'sau vedārtha-paribṛñhitaḥ  
purāṇānāṁ sāma-rūpaḥ sākṣād-bhagavatoditaḥ  
(attributed to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, found in Madhva's  
*Bhāgavata-tātparya-nirṇaya* 1.1.1, cited in  
*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.25.143)

<sup>42</sup> sarva-vedetihāsānāṁ sārāṁ sārāṁ samuddhṛtam (*Bhāgavata* 1.3.41, cited in 2.25.145).

<sup>43</sup> ataeva bhāgavata karaha vicāra  
ihā haite pābe sūtra-śrutira artha-sāra  
(2.25.153)

What appears as a disadvantage, however, can turn out to be a blessing in disguise, and for sixteenth-century Gauḍīya Vedānta, this was indeed the case. The school's dependence on the *Bhāgavata*, which caused the restriction on a commentary in the first place, became the very foundation for its engagement with Vedānta. The *Bhāgavata* is seen as a fountainhead of *rasa* and the topmost scripture because its primary aim is to narrate the activities (*līla*) of Kṛṣṇa, who is the personification of all *rasa* (*akhīla-rasāmṛta-mūrti*). Therefore, any intellectual exercise that is based upon the *Purāṇa* and that deepens one's understanding of the text is fully justified. The *Bhāgavata* thus serves as a bridge between the worlds of *rasa* and *jñāna*, mediating the emotional and intellectual, welding together *bhakti* and Vedānta, and intertwining devotional narrative with philosophical speculation. The *Bhāgavata*'s *rasa*-rich narrative of Kṛṣṇa's activities provides a framework within which discussions of a more scholastic nature can be justifiably pursued. By basing his Vedāntic discourse on the *Bhāgavata*, Jīva Gosvāmī not only actualized the *Purāṇa*'s commentarial role, but also secured an acceptable place for Vedāntic thought in his tradition.

It can be argued that the role of theological mediator is fundamental to the *Bhāgavata*, woven into the very fabric of the text. Friedhelm Hardy, for instance, sees the *Purāṇa* as playing upon a host of religious and social tensions that were prevalent in South India—the tensions between the Northern Sanskrit and Southern Tamil traditions, between orthodox brāhmaṇism and Pāñcarātric Vaiṣṇavism, between monistic and dualistic theologies, and between union and separation as fundamental principles of human—Divine relationships. What is most noteworthy for our purposes, however, is the dialectic between the reserved intellectualism of Vedānta philosophy and the emotional, ecstatic Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* characteristic of the *Bhāgavata*.<sup>44</sup>

This is the most critical point in the BhP: on the one hand emotional *bhakti* represents the typical Tamil heritage in Southern Vaiṣṇavism, while on the other hand it would appear to be the most difficult complex to reconcile with Vedānta ideology, particularly in

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, 11.14.24:

vāg gadgadā dravate yasya cittaṁ  
rudaty abhikṣaṇaṁ hasatī kvacī ca  
vilajja udgāyati nṛtyate ca  
mad-bhakti-yukto bhuvanaṁ punāti

A devotee whose speech is sometimes choked up, whose heart melts, who cries continually and sometimes laughs, who feels ashamed and cries out loudly and then dances—a devotee thus fixed in loving service to Me purifies the entire universe.

(Bhaktivedanta Book Trust edition)

its *advaita* form.<sup>45</sup> . . . It is difficult to imagine what kind of a person the author could have been, maintaining in himself this incredible tension between intense emotionalism and monistic and theistic illusionism. But however incongruous this enormous edifice may appear to us, it contains stimuli and inspiration which remained operative for the following thousand years.

(Hardy 1983: 497, 541)

The *Bhāgavata*'s remarkable ability to hold together and reconcile Vedānta philosophy with *bhakti* emotionalism is demonstrated already in the opening verses of the *Purāṇa*. The *Bhāgavata* begins with a meditation on the Supreme Truth (*satyaṁ param*), describing him in clearly Vedāntic terms. The verse is dense and difficult, rather like a string of metrically arranged *sūtras*. It employs the long *śārdūla-vikṛīḍita* meter, thus hinting at the poetic nature of the *Purāṇa*.<sup>46</sup>

Let us meditate on the Supreme Truth, from whom there is the creation, etc. of this (universe)—inferred by positive and negative concomitance in things—who is the all-knower, self-luminous, who revealed the Vedas through the heart to the first sage, about whom the gods are confused, in whom the threefold evolution is not false<sup>47</sup>—like the exchange of fire, water, and earth—and who, by his own power, is always free from deception.

The first words of the verse are a quotation from the *Brahma-sūtra*: “janmādy asya yataḥ,” and the last word “dhīmahi” suggests the Gāyatrī. Having made these connections, the *Bhāgavata* establishes its own significance and superiority in the second verse:

<sup>45</sup> While Hardy believes that the *Bhāgavata* is responding to the extreme illusionism of *advaita* Vedānta, Sheridan disagrees. “[The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*] does not appear to have been aware of Śaṅkara and his thought nor to have been influenced by him . . . The non-dualism of the *Bhāgavata* is of the *bhedābheda* or *viśiṣṭādvaita* type, difference-in-identity or qualified non-dualism.” (1994: 54).

<sup>46</sup> janmādy asya yato 'nvayād itarataś cārtheṣv abhijñāḥ svarāt  
tene brahma hṛdā ya ādi-kavaye muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ  
tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ yathā vinimayo yatra tri-sargo 'mṛṣā  
dhāmnā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakaṁ satyaṁ param dhīmahi  
(Translation based on Sheridan 1994: 51–52)

<sup>47</sup> The phrase “*tri-sargomṛṣā*” is ambiguous, since the *sandhi* can be resolved as either “*tri-sargaḥ amṛṣā*” or “*tri-sargaḥ mṛṣā*”, with opposite meanings. Both Śrīdhara and Jīva take the former reading (“the threefold evolution is not false”).

The highest duty, free from deceit, of good persons who are without envy, is found here in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which was composed by the great sage. The subject matter to be known here is genuine and it grants welfare, destroying the three miseries. What is the use of other books? Those pious people who desire to hear this *Bhāgavata* immediately and at once capture the Lord in the heart.<sup>48</sup>

According to Śrīdhara Svāmī, this verse shows that the *Bhāgavata* expounds the true meaning of all the scriptures, including the sections dealing with action (*karma*), knowledge (*jñāna*), and worship (*upāsana* or *devatā*), and therefore it is superior to them.<sup>49</sup> The verse also states the qualification necessary to hear the *Bhāgavata*: a person must be *kṛtī*, one who has accrued merit.<sup>50</sup>

After placing itself firmly within the Vedāntic tradition, and establishing itself as the best transmitter of that tradition, the *Bhāgavata* immediately switches to a different concern—the tasting of *rasa*:

The ripe fruit of the desire tree of the Vedas contains the nectarean juice from the mouth of Śuka. O knowers of *rasa* (*rasika*) and people of taste (*bhāvukas*) in the world! Drink again and again this reservoir of *rasa*—the *Bhāgavata*.<sup>51</sup>

The phrase “*nigama-kalpa-taror phalam*” “the fruit of the Vedic desire tree” connects this verse with the first two. Not only does the *Bhāgavata* possess the meanings of the Vedas and Vedānta, it is the anticipated reward of the tradition. A tree's growth culminates in the arrival of its fruit; the study of Veda and Vedānta finds perfection in drinking the *rasa* of the *Bhāgavata*.

<sup>48</sup> dharmah projjhita-kaitavo 'tra paramo nirmatsarāṇām satārṇ  
vedyāṁ vāstavam atra vastu śivadam tāpa-trayonmūlanam  
śrīmad-bhāgavate mahā-muni-kṛte kim vā parair īśvaraḥ  
sadyo hṛdy avarudhyate 'tra kṛtibhiḥ śuśrūṣubhis tat-kṣaṇāt

<sup>49</sup> idānīm śrotṛ-pravartanāya śrī-bhāgavatasya kāṇḍa-traya-viśayebhyaḥ sarva-  
śāstrebyaḥ śraiṣṭhyaṁ darśayati. . . tasmād atra kāṇḍa-trayārthasyāpi yathāvat  
pratipādanād idam eva sarva-śāstrebyaḥ śreṣṭhaṁ, ato nityam etad eva śrotavyam  
iti bhāvah.

(*Bhāvārtha-ḍīpikā* commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1.1.2)

<sup>50</sup> idam eva tarhi kim iti sarve na śṁvanti tatrāha—kṛtibhir iti. śravaṇecchā tu puṇyair vinā  
notpadyata ity arthaḥ.

<sup>51</sup> nigama-kalpa-taror galitaṁ phalaṁ  
śuka-mukhād amṛta-drava-saṁyutam  
pibata bhāgavataṁ rasam ālayam  
muhur aho rasikā bhuvi bhāvukāḥ



This drive from Vedānta to *rasa*, we remember, was a characteristic of the Caitanyite engagement in Vedānta, and a common feature of the conversion stories in the biographies. By addressing the verse to knowers of *rasa* (*rasikas*) and people of taste (*bhāvukas*), the *Bhāgavata* identifies them as the proper recipients of the Vedic fruit, and thus makes them the best of Vedāntins. We may recall that one of Prakāśānanda's criticisms of Caitanya was that he kept company with "bhāvukas" (sentimentalists). In this context, the criticism becomes more than acceptable.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* thus becomes the foundation for Vedāntic discourse in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, both by justifying Vedānta in the eyes of the tradition and by justifying the tradition to Vedāntins of other schools. Like a two-way bridge, the *Purāṇa* brings Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas into conversation with the world of Vedānta and also brings the concerns of Vedānta into Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. In the next chapter, we will see how Jīva Gosvāmī builds this bridge in his *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* using theological concepts drawn from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

## CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVA HERMENEUTICS

### Bhagavān

Given the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*'s singular role in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, it is no surprise that Jīva Gosvāmī places the *Purāṇa* at the heart of his Vedāntic commentary. Here we are concerned with the final section of the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* (section 105), which includes Jīva Gosvāmī's *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā*. His primary purpose in this passage is not to write a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* but to elucidate the meaning of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This, of course, is the purpose of the entire *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, and section 105 does not in any way deviate from this aim. Jīva makes this clear at the onset of the passage:

In the threefold manifestation (consisting of Brahman, Paramātmā, and Bhagavān), the first manifestation, Śrī Bhagavān has superiority. This great Purāṇa has the name Śrī Bhāgavata because it teaches about him [Bhagavān]. As it is said, "This Purāṇa, called Bhāgavata, is equal to the Veda." The chief meaning of the Bhāgavata will be considered from different angles according to the six indicators of meaning [tātparya-liṅga].

The primary concern here is to show that Bhagavān, as he is described in the second Sandarbha (*Bhagavat-*), is the ultimate import and final goal of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Thus, in one sense, section 105 can be seen as simply clinching the argument that has already been made in the first three *sandarbhās*, namely, that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the highest means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*), and Bhagavān is its main subject matter.

This conclusion may at first seem quite obvious, and the argument rather tautological. After all, the word "Bhāgavata" is derived from "Bhagavān," and literally means, "that (text) which has to do with Bhagavān." When Jīva says that "this great Purāṇa has the name Śrī Bhāgavata because it teaches about him (Bhagavān)," is he teaching us an elementary grammar lesson?

Surely the fact that the *Purāṇa* has Bhagavān as its main topic of instruction cannot be a point of serious disagreement.

The significance of Jīva's thesis immediately becomes apparent, however, if we recall that "Bhagavān" is a technical term in Gauḍīya literature. While in ordinary Sanskrit usage "Bhagavān" ("the glorious one") often functions simply as a respectful title for a god or sage, it is clear to anyone who has studied the first three Sandarbhas that the meaning intended by Jīva is quite specialized and far from trivial. Jīva Gosvāmī provides a definition of Bhagavān at the end of the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*. The location and comprehensive nature of this definition indicate that it functions as a summary statement of the entire Sandarbha:

He who is the very form of existence, consciousness, and bliss; who possesses inconceivable, multifarious, and unlimited energies that are of his own nature; who is the ocean of unlimited, mutually contradictory qualities, such that in him both the attribute and the possessor of attributes, the lack of differences and varieties of differences, formlessness and form, pervasiveness and centrality [*madhyamatva*]<sup>1</sup>—all are true; whose beautiful form is distinct from both gross and subtle entities, self-luminous, and consisting entirely of his own nature; who has unlimited such forms that are manifested by his chief form called Bhagavān; whose left side is beautified by Lakṣmī—the manifestation of his personal energy, suitable to his own form; who resides in his own abode, along with his associates, who are furnished with a form that is a special manifestation of his own splendor; who astonishes the hosts of *ātmārāmas* (those who take pleasure in the self) by his wonderful qualities, pastimes, etc., which are characterized by the play of his personal energy; whose own generic brilliance is manifested in the form of the reality of Brahman; who is the sole shelter and life of his marginal energy, called the living entities [*jīvas*]; whose mere reflected energy are the modes of nature [*guṇas*], visible in the unlimited phenomenal world—he is Bhagavān.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> tad evaṁ sac-cid-ānandaika-rūpaḥ svarūpa-bhūtācintya-vicitrānanta-śakti-yukto dharmaiva eva dharmitvaṁ nirbhedaiva eva nana-bheda-vattvaṁ arūpitva eva rūpitvaṁ vyāpakatva eva madhyamatvaṁ satyam evety ādi-paraspara-viruddhānanta-guṇa-nidhiḥ sthūla-sūkṣma-vilakṣaṇa-sva-prakāśākhaṇḍa-sva-svarūpa-bhūta-śrī-vigrahaḥ tathā-bhūta-bhagavad-ākhyā-mukhyaika-vigraha-vyañjita-tādṛśānanta-vigrahaḥ tādṛśa-svānurūpa-śakti-virbhāva-lakṣaṇa-lakṣmī-rañjita-vām-āṁśaḥ sva-prabhā-viśeṣākāra-paricchada-parikara-nija-dhāmasu virājamānā-kāraḥ svarūpa-śakti-vilāsa-lakṣaṇa-adbhuta-guṇa-līlādi-camatkāritātmārāmādi-gaṇo nija-sāmānya-prakāśākāra-brahma-tattvo nijaśayaika-jīvana-jīvākhyā-tatastha-śaktir ananta-prapañca-vyañjita-svābhāsa-śakti-guṇo bhagavān iti.

(*Bhagavat-sandarbha* 100)

This definition includes all the major topics discussed in the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*: the Lord's form, qualities, abode, and associates, his three energies (*śaktis*), and his inconceivable, transcendental nature. Understood in this way, the word "Bhagavān" encompasses within its scope all of Caitanya Vaiṣṇava ontology. Thus, proving that Bhagavān is the main subject matter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is tantamount to showing that the *Bhāgavata* is a Caitanyite text, or—better yet—to establishing all of Caitanyite theology on the basis of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

The key to the Gauḍīya understanding of Bhagavān lies in a verse found in the second chapter of the first book of the *Bhāgavata*:

*vadanti tat tattva-vidas tattvaṁ yaj jñānam advayam  
brahmeti paramātmetye bhagavan iti śabdyate*

Knowers of reality declare that reality to be nondual consciousness, called "Brahman," "Paramātmā," and "Bhagavān."

(1.2.11)

This text is so often cited and explained in Gauḍīya literature<sup>2</sup> that some authors credit the entire Caitanya Vaiṣṇava theory of the threefold Godhead to this verse alone. Although the theory, and especially the concept of Bhagavān, are in fact based on a much broader understanding of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,<sup>3</sup> the verse nevertheless occupies a crucial place in Gauḍīya theology for several reasons.

First, if Jīva is to establish the concept of Bhagavān in the technical, Caitanyite sense of the term, he must first of all introduce a distinction between Bhagavān and other commonplace conceptions of Godhead, such as the inner controller (*antaryāmī*) and supersoul (*paramātmā*). By juxtaposing three different names for God in a single line (Brahman, Paramātmā, and Bhagavān), the *Bhāgavata* verse allows exegetical space for such a distinction to be made. After all why would the *Purāṇa* mention these three names and claim that they are "nondual" if there were no reason to think them separate in the first place?

<sup>2</sup> The verse is discussed six times in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, and over a hundred times in the writings of A.C. Bhaktivedānta Swami Prabhupāda, a modern exponent of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism.

<sup>3</sup> This is evident from the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, wherein Jīva assembles and explains a wide variety of verses from the *Bhāgavata* to establish the concept of the threefold Godhead and the supremacy of Bhagavān. A similar attempt is made in section 105 of *Paramātmā-sandarbha*, wherein the six indicators of meaning (*tātparya-liṅgas*) are delineated using verses from various parts of the *Bhāgavata*.



Jīva recognizes the fact that the three designations are often used interchangeably in texts; the *Bhāgavata* mentions them here in order to indicate their primary significance.<sup>4</sup> The selection of names is not arbitrary; the verse does not, for example, give “living entity” (*jīva*) as a name of the nondual reality. Nor is the order in which the names appear random. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is indicating a hierarchy of forms from Brahman to Bhagavān, based on the degree of revelation. Bhagavān is the complete manifestation of the nondual reality and, indeed, identifiable with it. In him, all the inherent energies (*śaktis*) of the Supreme are clearly visible—beauty, power, wisdom, majesty, abode, and associates.<sup>5</sup> Then, depending on the degree to which the fullness of the Lord’s glory is hidden, he is known as either Brahman or Paramātmā. When Bhagavān’s energies are manifest in a partial way, mainly in regard to directing material nature (*prakṛti*) and the living entities (*jīvas*), he is known as Paramātmā—the inner controller, inspirer, and support of the cosmos.<sup>6</sup> When his attributes are totally unmanifest, he is known as Brahman—the undifferentiated, unqualified, and impersonal Absolute.<sup>7</sup>

It is important to observe that the hierarchy proceeds “top-down” rather than “bottom-up.” That is, although Brahman in this scheme appears very similar to the qualityless (*nirguṇa*) Brahman of the Advaitins, in fact, Brahman here is not the essential, most fundamental form of Reality, upon which various attributes must be “added” in order to “get to” Bhagavān. Rather, Bhagavān in all his fullness is the starting point for the Gauḍīya concept of the Supreme. Brahman *is* Bhagavān, but with the splendor and glory suppressed. As O.B.L. Kapoor puts it, “Brahman is a creative

<sup>4</sup> yady apy ete brahmādi-śabdāḥ prāyo mithortheṣu vartante tathāpi tatra tatra saṅketa-prādhānya-vivakṣayedam uktam.

(*Bhagavat-sandarbhā* 3)

<sup>5</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī provides a definition of Bhagavān in terms of the “vadanti” verse: tathā caivam vaiṣiṣṭye prāpte pūrṇāvirbhāvatvenākhaṇḍa-tattva-rūpo ‘sau bhagavān. (*Bhagavat-sandarbhā* 3).

<sup>6</sup> Paramātmā is defined as follows:

yena hetu-kartrā ātmānśa-bhūta-jīva-praveśana-dvārā saṁjīvitāni santi dehādīnī tad-upalakṣaṇāni pradhānādi-sarvāṇy eva tattvāni yenaiva preritatayā caranti sva-sva-kārye pravartanti tat paramātmā-rūpaṁ viddhi.

(*Bhagavat-sandarbhā* 4)

<sup>7</sup> Jīva defines Brahman in this way: brahma tu sphutam aprakaṭita-vaiṣiṣṭyākāratvena tasya (bhagavataḥ) evāsamyag āvirbhāva ity āyātam (*Bhagavat-sandarbhā* 3). Or in *Bhagavat-sandarbhā* 4: yad aviśiṣṭaṁ cin-mātratvena prakāśamānaṁ tad brahmarūpaṁ viddhi. “That which is not qualified, and which shines because it is pure consciousness—know it to be Brahman.”

potentiality, but a potentiality that is eternally actualised in its most perfect state as Bhagavān" (1995: 92). It is for this reason that Jīva Gosvāmī decides that a separate study of Brahman is unnecessary. "When the nature of Bhagavān is explained, Brahman is automatically explained. Therefore, Brahma-sandarbha is understood to be included here (in the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*)."<sup>8</sup>

Thus, by introducing multiplicity in the Divine, the "vadanti" verse allows Gauḍīya theologians to develop and lay claim to the concept of Bhagavān. The verse is equally important, however, for just the opposite reason: Once the threefold scheme has been developed, the verse protects Gauḍīya commentators from accusations of dividing the Absolute, since it clearly states that the three are in fact one nondual reality. The first line of the verse is as useful to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava writers as the second, for by identifying the nondual reality with Kṛṣṇa, they can claim Kṛṣṇa to be the ultimate referent of all three names: Brahman, Paramātmā, and Bhagavān. This allows them to direct even monistically inclined Upaniṣadic passages toward Bhagavān. In his instructions to Sanātana Gosvāmī at Kāśī, Caitanya explains the implications of the "vadanti" verse:

The word "Brahman" refers to Svayaṁ Bhagavān,<sup>9</sup> who is one consciousness without a second, and without whom there is nothing else. "Knowers of reality declare that reality to be nondual consciousness, called 'Brahman,' 'Paramātmā,' and 'Bhagavan.'" That nondual reality is Kṛṣṇa, Bhagavān himself. He exists in all three phases of time (past, present, and future). This is evident from the scriptures. . . .

The word "ātmā" refers to Kṛṣṇa. His nature is greatness [bṛhattva]. He is all pervading, the witness of everything, and the supreme form . . . Although the words "Brahman" and "ātmā" refer

<sup>8</sup> vyañjite bhagavat-tattve brahma ca vyajyate svayaṁ  
ato 'tra brahma-sandarbho 'py avāntaratayā mataḥ  
(*Bhagavat-sandarbha* 7)

<sup>9</sup> The title "svayaṁ bhagavān," ("Bhagavān himself," or "directly Bhagavān") is used exclusively to designate Kṛṣṇa. It is drawn from the famous statement of the Bhāgavata:

"ete cāmśa-kalāḥ puṁsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayaṁ.

"All these (*avatāras*) are portions or portions of portions of the Lord, but Kṛṣṇa is Bhagavān himself" (1.3.28). This half-verse appears at the end of the list of twenty-two prominent incarnations (*avatāras*), and is on par with the "vadanti" verse as a pace-setting text in Caitanya Vaiṣṇava theology. It forms the basis for the complex classification of Kṛṣṇa's forms and manifestations found in the *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* of Rūpa Gosvāmī, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, and *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*.

to Kṛṣṇa, by conventional usage they refer to the Undifferentiated [nirviśeṣa] and the Inner Controller [antaryāmī], respectively.<sup>10</sup>

Here, we get the essentials of a hermeneutical strategy: scriptural passages that speak of God in conflicting ways can be taken to refer to his different aspects, but these aspects are actually members of a single reality (*advaya-tattva*). That reality is Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, and therefore he is the ultimate import of scriptural passages. Jīva Gosvāmī uses this strategy at the beginning of his *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā* to explain the meaning of the first *sūtra*, *athāto brahma-jijñāsā*:

“*Brahma-jijñāsā*” is explained by “*param dhīmahi*” (in the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*) . . . “*Param*” refers to Brahman. Due to greatness, Brahman is within everything and also outside them. Therefore, it is by nature superior [*param*] to everything, just like the sun is to its rays etc. Thus, to indicate the original form (Bhagavān), the word “*brahman*” is explained by the word “*param*.” And so, Bhagavān alone is intended here.

Thus, the referent of the word “*brahma-jijñāsā*” gets “passed on” from Brahman to Bhagavān via the word “*param*” in the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*. Since Brahman is in fact a form of Bhagavān, inquiry into Brahman necessitates inquiry into Bhagavān, who is the actual subject matter of the *Bhāgavata*.

This interpretive method can also work in the other direction, where a description of Bhagavān will be “passed down” to Brahman. An example of this is found at the beginning of the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, where Jīva Gosvāmī

<sup>10</sup> sei brahma-śabde kahe svayaṁ bhagavān  
advitīya-jñāna yānhā vinā nāhi āna  
(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.24.73)

vadanti tat tattvavidas tattvaṁ yaj jñānam advayam  
brahmeti paramātmetye bhagavān iti śabdyate  
(2.24.74)

sei advaya-tattva kṛṣṇa svayaṁ bhagavān  
tina-kāle satya tīnho śāstra-pramāṇa  
(2.24.75)

ātma-śabde kahe kṛṣṇa bṛhattva-svarūpa  
sarva-vyāpaka sarva-sākṣī parama-svarūpa  
(2.24.77)

brahma-ātmā-śabde yadi kṛṣṇere kahaya  
rūḍhivṛttye nirviśeṣa antaryāmī kaya  
(2.24.82)

offers a famous definition of Bhagavān from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The problem is that some of the characteristics ascribed to Bhagavān in the verses do not seem favorable to the idea of a personal God:

That which is unmanifest, unaging, inconceivable, unborn, imperishable, indescribable, formless, and without hands, feet, or other limbs; which is almighty, present everywhere, eternal, the origin of living entities, causeless, all-pervading, and impenetrable; and which is the source of everything—that, indeed, is what the sages see. That is Brahman, the highest resort. It is the object of meditation for those desiring liberation, and it is subtle. It is described by the words of *śruti*. It is the supreme destination—Viṣṇu.<sup>11</sup>

The interpretive key here is the word “Brahman” used as an epithet of Bhagavān (Viṣṇu). When Bhagavān is understood as formless and without limbs, he is known as Brahman, which is the *kevala-viśeṣya*, or pure substance to which nothing has yet been attributed.<sup>12</sup> One may describe Bhagavān in a negative way, as long as one remembers (and the verse reminds us by mentioning the word “Brahman”) that such an understanding is an incomplete apprehension of the nondual reality.<sup>13</sup>

- <sup>11</sup> yat tad avyaktam ajaram acintyam ajam akṣayam  
anirdeśyam arūpaṁ ca pāṇi-pādādy-asaṁhyutam  
vibhuṁ sarva-gataṁ nityaṁ bhūta-yoniṁ akāraṇam  
vyāpy-avyāptam yataḥ sarvaṁ tad vai paśyanti sūrayaḥ  
tad brahma paramaṁ dhāma tad dhyeyaṁ mokṣa-kāṅkṣiṇām  
śruti-vākyaoditaṁ sūkṣmaṁ tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam

Note the echo of the Rg Veda (1.22.20): “tad vai paśyanti sūrayaḥ” and “tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam.” I have chosen to take the genitive case of Viṣṇu (*viṣṇoḥ*) in a weak sense of simply naming or clarifying that which belongs to it (*paramaṁ padam*). This allows the passage to function (as intended by Jīva) as a description of Visnu Bhagavān, rather than simply his abode.

- <sup>12</sup> m pāṇi-pādādy-asaṁhyutam itīdaṁ brahmākhyā-kevala-viśeṣyāvīrbhāva-niṣṭham  
(*Bhagavat-sandarbhā* 3)

- <sup>13</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī also offers another explanation of “formless, and without hands or feet”: these descriptions remind us that the Lord has no *material* (*prākṛta*) form or limbs. This is a common Vaiṣṇava interpretation of negative statements, and is the one offered by Caitanya to Śārvabhauma Bhattachārya:

apāṇi-pāda-śruti varje ‘prākṛta’ pāṇi-carāṇa  
punaḥ kahe śīghra cale kare sarva grahaṇa  
ataeva śruti kahe, brahma saviśeṣa

The *śruti* text ‘*apāṇi-pāda*’ precludes material hands and feet, but also says that he moves quickly and grasps everything. Therefore *śruti* says that Brahman possesses attributes.

(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.6.150–152)



This “pass the referent” approach is not uncommon in Vedānta, where it is important to maintain both the integrity and unity of scriptural texts—that is, to remain faithful to what is perceived to be the intended meaning of the texts and at the same time to demonstrate the unity of their intention. This can often be accomplished most easily by a “divide and unite” strategy, wherein distinctions are introduced to serve as referents for differing descriptions of Brahman, and then the resulting divisions are held together using an overarching theological principle. This is indeed how Rāmānuja uses the body-soul analogy to interpret Upaniṣadic texts. Brahman and the world consisting of living entities and matter comprise an “organic and dynamic complex of being,” related to each other as the embodied soul is to the body (Lott 1980: 49). The body, although distinct from and completely controlled by the soul, can nevertheless serve as a referent for designations that actually apply to the soul. This is quite legitimate, in so far as the body is pervaded by and “included” in the soul. The two comprise an inseparable and interdependent whole. Thus, when the Upaniṣads speak of the individual souls or the world as Brahman, they do so just as we refer to the body as “myself” or “yourself.” When we say, “I adorned myself with fine jewelry,” we mean “I adorned my body with fine jewelry.” This is indeed how “you” (*tvam*) should be understood in the famous Upaniṣadic statement, “you are that” (*tat tvam asi*). In order to make sense of how the finite soul could be Brahman, we must “pass on” the referent of “*tvam*” to Brahman, who both includes and transcends the world of souls. Van Buitenen summarizes it well, “Just as the body terminates in the soul, so the soul terminates in the inner Soul. Consequently all the words which describe the body ultimately refer to the soul, and all the words which refer to the soul ultimately refer to God” (*Vedārtha Saṁgraha* 64–65).<sup>14</sup>

### Bhagavān’s *śakti*

The doctrine of Bhagavān’s energy or power (*śakti*) functions in much the same way in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Whereas in Rāmānuja’s system, the operative model is the self-body relationship, here we find the analogy of

<sup>14</sup> This technique of “passing on” the referent is grounded in a grammatical rule called correlative predication, or *sāmānādhikaraṇya*, which Rāmānuja uses to great effect in his theology. Correlative predication occurs when words that have different connotations denote the same entity, as in the phrase, “big, blue, beautiful lotus” (Chari 237). Each qualifier has a different meaning, yet all refer to the same lotus. Here is the key: this apparently simple grammatical point has significant ontological consequences. Each qualifier has a different connotation precisely because it has a different ground for occurrence—that is, there are real differences within the object itself which give reason for the application of different qualifiers. Using this, Rāmānuja argues against the Advaitin doctrine of an undifferentiated Brahman, in favor of a Lord who is qualified by different attributes, such as eternity, knowledge, and bliss.

fire and its all-pervasive light: "Just as a fire is situated in one place, but its light spreads, so the energy [*śakti*] of the Supreme Brahman spreads throughout the universe."<sup>15</sup> The *śakti* of Bhagavān is his most important attribute. Indeed, all his other attributes can be subsumed within it, for everything about the Lord—his form, abode, activities, excellences, associates, and his creation—is a manifestation of his infinite energy. Or, to put it another way, each one of his attributes can be characterized in terms of his *śakti*. Thus, his attribute of knowledge is his *jñāna-śakti*, his attribute of maintenance is his *pālana-śakti*, and so on.

The analogy of fire and its light is used repeatedly in Jīva Gosvāmī's writings and in Caitanya Vaiṣṇava texts in general.<sup>16</sup> A survey of the occurrences of the above verse from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* reveals that the verse is cited for a variety of reasons. First and foremost, the analogy is used to argue for the innate (*svābhāvika*) nature of Bhagavān's *śakti*. Just as fire and its radiance are invariably coexistent, and radiance emanates from fire without any extraneous endeavor on the fire's part, so the *śakti* of the Lord is inseparable from the Lord, and proceeds from him as a result of his own nature. In Jīva Gosvāmī's writings, we find a persistent emphasis on the naturalness of the Lord's *śakti*, for his concern here—even more than in the threefold Godhead doctrine—is to preserve the unity and simplicity of the Supreme. The most important scriptural proof-text in this regard comes from the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which says, "It is known that [his] *śakti* is supreme, manifold, and part of his very nature."<sup>17</sup> Just as Rāmānuja argued that the body is included in the self, Jīva reminds us that any concept of Bhagavān must include his *śakti*.

Once Bhagavān and his *śakti* have been so intimately associated, the Vedāntist is immediately faced with the problem of the world and its vagaries. Surely, this material world of change and suffering cannot be included within the immutable and blissful Brahman. How can a pure and transcendent

<sup>15</sup> This is a quotation from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1.22.54):

eka-deśa-sthitasyāgner jyotsnā vistāriṇī yathā  
parasya brahmaṇaḥ śaktis tathedam akhilaṁ jagat

<sup>16</sup> The above verse is cited in *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (2.20.110), *Bhagavat-sandarbha* (16), and thrice in the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* (70, 71, and 106). The analogy of fire and its energy is also found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (3.28.40–41), which compares Bhagavān to fire and the living entities to sparks. The two verses are commented upon by Jīva Gosvāmī in *anuccheda* 68 of *Paramātmā-sandarbha*.

<sup>17</sup> na tasya kāryaṁ karaṇaṁ ca vidyate na tatsamaś cābhyadhikaś ca dṛṣyate  
parāśya śaktir vividhaiva śrūyate svābhāviki jñāna-bala-kriyā ca

(6.8)

entity produce, or even be associated with, something that is so opposite its nature? Of course, Vedāntic thinkers in general reject the Sāṅkhya notion that an effect must be of the same nature as its cause. Our analogy proves useful here as well: the light of a fire does not possess many of the attributes of fire, such as the power to burn or provide warmth.<sup>18</sup> Still, the question remains as to the locus of the phenomenal world, since too much proximity with Brahman would undermine his perfection. And so, after the initial unification of Bhagavān and his *śakti*, they must be distanced again.

It is here that Caitanya Vaiṣṇava writers introduce the doctrine of manifold *śakti*. So far, we have been speaking of Bhagavān's *śakti* as a single power that is held responsible for all that is related to him. Although the unity of *śakti* must still be upheld, distinctions need to be introduced depending on the distance of powers from Bhagavān's essential nature (*svarūpa*). Again using the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as their source text, Gauḍīya theologians have divided *śakti* into three: internal (*antaraṅgā*), external (*bahiraṅgā*), and marginal (*taṭasthā*, "on the shore").<sup>19</sup> The internal energy, also called *svarūpa-śakti*, is the power through which Bhagavān acts in his personal affairs. This energy is of the same transcendental nature as Bhagavān, and so is responsible for manifesting everything directly related to him, such as his form and abode. The internal energy has three aspects (*sandhinī*, *saṁvit*, and *hlādinī*), which correspond to the Lord's threefold nature as eternity, knowledge, and bliss (*sac-cid-ānanda*).<sup>20</sup>

The external energy, on the other hand, manifests the temporary phenomenal world of matter. Because of the inferior nature of this *śakti*, known also

<sup>18</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī makes a careful study of causality in the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, arguing in support of commonly held Vedāntic views on the subject. See, for example, *anuccheda* 70, where he makes use of the fire analogy: *kāryaṁ kāraṇa-dharmasya sarvāmśenaivānugataṁ bhavatīti niyamo na vidyata ity arthaḥ. dahanādy-udbhavē prabhādau dāhakatvādi-dharmādarśanād iti bhāvaḥ*. Jīva then quotes the "fire verse" from *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

<sup>19</sup> The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, however, gives different names to the *śaktis*:

*viṣṇu-śaktiḥ parā proktā kṣetra-jñākhyā tathāparā  
avidyā-karma-saṁjñānyā tṛtīyā śaktir iṣyate*

"Viṣṇu's (personal) energy is called *parā* (superior), the second energy is known as *kṣetra-jñā* (knower of the field), and the third is named *avidyā-karma* (ignorance and activity)" (6.7.61). The *sandhi* in "*tathāparā*" can be resolved as "*tatha apara*" or "*tathā parā*." The second option would give us, "the energy called *kṣetra-jñā* is also *parā* (superior)." This meaning is consistent with the *Gītā* (7.5), where Kṛṣṇa calls the *jīvas* his *parā prakṛti*, and also with Gauḍīya theology, which regards the *jīvas* as essentially part of the internal energy.

<sup>20</sup> This further tripartition is again found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1.12.68). Verse 6.8 of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (quoted above) is also cited in support of the partition. There, the Lord's inherent *śakti* is described as *jñāna-bala-kriyā*, "consisting of knowledge, strength, and activity." Knowledge corresponds to *saṁvit*, strength to *sandhinī*, and activity to *hlādinī*.

as *māyā*, Bhagavān sets it into motion but remains aloof from its activities. Bhagavān is both the efficient and substantial cause of the universe, but only indirectly, through the agency of the external energy. Jīva Gosvāmī thus identifies two parts to this *śakti*—the qualitative or efficient energy (*guṇa-* or *nimitta-māyā*) and the substantial energy (*upādāna-māyā*).<sup>21</sup> These two perform the creative functions on Bhagavān's behalf and are therefore the immediate cause of the living entities' bondage and delusion. Jīva Gosvāmī also accepts the Advaitin analysis of *māyā*'s deluding power into two aspects: *āvaraṇātmikā*, covering the living entity's natural knowledge, and *vikṣepātmikā*, attaching him to other kinds of knowledge.<sup>22</sup> The living entity himself is the marginal energy of Bhagavān, for he can move within either the internal or external *śaktis*, although he is essentially part of the superior energy.

Now, the analogy of fire and its light ceases to be useful at this point, since it does not provide much scope for introducing degrees of difference between an object and its powers. Instead, Jīva Gosvāmī shifts to the analogy of the sun and its splendor.<sup>23</sup> Here, we can distinguish four levels of distance from the sun: (1) the sun god or sun globe; (2) the fiery radiance within the sun's orb; (3) the rays that proceed outward from the sun; (4) and the sun's reflection (on water or a polished surface). The sun god is like the Lord himself in his original form (*svarūpa*), Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, the very source of all *śaktis*. The powerful radiance most closely associated with him is the internal energy, by which all the opulence of his realm, Vaikuṇṭha, is manifested. The living entities, on the other hand, are like the sun's rays; they possess the same nature as the brilliance within, but with less intensity,

<sup>21</sup> Each part is further subdivided according to *māyā*'s various functions. See *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, *anucchedas* 53–55 for a detailed analysis with supporting evidence from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

<sup>22</sup> athāvidyākhyasya bhāgasya dve vṛttī āvaraṇātmikā vikṣepātmikā ca. tatra pūrvā jīva eva tiṣṭhantī tadīyaṁ svābhāvikaṁ jñānam āvṛṇvānā. uttarā ca taṁ tad-anyathā-jñānena sañjayanī vartata iti.

(*Paramātmā-sandarbhā* 54)

<sup>23</sup> See *Bhagavat-sandarbhā*, section 16:

ekam eva tat parama-tattvaṁ svābhāvikācintya-śaktyā sarvadaiva svarūpa-tad-rūpa-vaibhava-jīva-pradhāna-rūpeṇa caturdhāvatīṣṭhate. sūryāntarmanḍalasthateja iva maṇḍala-tad-bahirgata-raśmi-tat-praticchavi-rūpeṇa. . . śaktiś ca sā tridhā antaraṅgā bahiraṅgā taṭasthā ca. tatrāntaraṅgayā svarūpa-śaktyākhyayā pūrṇenaiva svarūpeṇa vaikuṇṭhādi-svarūpa-vaibhava-rūpeṇa ca tad avatīṣṭhate. taṭasthayā raśmi-sthānīya-cid-ekātma-śuddha-jīva-rūpeṇa bahiraṅgayā māyākhyayā praticchavigata-varṇa-śāvalya-sthānīya-tadīya-bahiraṅga-vaibhava-jaḍātma-pradhāna-rūpeṇa ceti caturdhātvam.



and they stand somewhere between the sun and the world of reflection.<sup>24</sup> The sun's reflection, with its multi-colors and shapes, is the external energy, the world of matter. The reflection is produced by the sun and depends on the sun for its existence, yet its uncertainties and fluctuations cannot disturb the sun.

Once again, we have ended up with a ladder of identification within Brahman. Whereas the Brahman—Paramātmā—Bhagavān scheme allowed us to reconcile scriptural passages about the nature of Godhead, the ladder of *śaktis* allows us to make sense of texts describing the relationship between God and the world. Once again, the “pass on the referent” technique works wonders. Take, for example, the famous Upaniṣadic saying, “*sarvaṁ khalv idam brahma*” (“all this, indeed, is Brahman”). Here, some account needs to be given of how the temporary, changing world can be the same as the perfect Brahman. If we understand the world as the external energy of Brahman (who is himself understood as Bhagavān using the first ladder), we can legitimately identify the energy with the possessor of energy, just as we can point to the sun's reflection and say, “that's the sun.” This is because, as we have seen, the Lord's *śakti* is natural to him (*svābhāvikī*) and fully dependent upon him. Thus, the Upaniṣad is not saying that the suffering and change which constitute the world are Brahman. Rather, the world, even though it is external to Brahman, still has the quality of being Brahman, in so far as it is his energy:

It is indicated here that because everything is born from Brahman, it has the quality of being Brahman. But being unchanged in the process, Brahman is existence [*sat*]. Thus, that portion [of Bhagavān]

<sup>24</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī uses the *jīva*-ray analogy in a more restricted way in the *Tattva-sandarbha*:

yathā janma-prabhṛti kaścid grha-guhāvaruddhaḥ sūryaṁ vividīṣuḥ kathamcid gavākṣa-patitaṁ sūryāṁśu-kaṇaṁ darśayitvā kenacid upadiśyate eṣa sa iti etat tad-amṣatvaṁ ca tad-acintya-śakti-viśeṣa-siddhatvenaiva paramātmā-sandarbhā sthāpayiṣyāmaḥ.

Suppose someone who has been shut in a dark room of the house since birth desires to know the sun. Someone shows him a tiny ray of sunlight that has somehow come in through a hole and says, “This is the sun.” In the *Paramātmā-sandarbha*, we will show that the *jīva* is similarly a portion of Brahman, for his existence is due to a particular aspect of Brahman's inconceivable *śakti*.

(52)

This parable describes the pedagogical method used by the Upaniṣads to reveal the nature of Brahman. They point to the *jīva* and say, “This is Brahman.” Phrases such as “*tat tvam asi*” should not be taken as statements of absolute identity, but only as indications of similar natures. Their purpose is to give an idea of Brahman's nature to those born in the darkness of ignorance, with only themselves as reference points.

which is the supreme refuge—that is the pure Brahman which is taught here.<sup>25</sup>

(*Bhagavat-sandarbha* 97)

Thus, the referent of “Brahman” in the passage “*sarvaṁ khalv idaṁ brahma*” has been “passed on” from the world back to Brahman, so that a comfortable distance between the Lord and the world can still be maintained.<sup>26</sup>

As we saw earlier, the referent can also be passed in the other direction—that is, “passed down” from Brahman to the world. This process is just as important as the first, since explaining the creation of the world from Brahman is one of the most important and difficult tasks for Vedānta. The *Brahma-sūtra* begins with the aphorism, “[Brahman is that] from which there is the birth, etc., of this [world],” and generally endorses the view that the world is a transformation (*pariṇāma*) of Brahman. How a changeless Brahman can change himself into a constantly changing world is of course the vexing issue for Vedāntins, and the attempt in general is to create a distance between Brahman and the process of transformation. Śaṅkara does this by relegating transformation to the realm of mere appearances (*vivarta*), while Rāmānuja restricts the transformation to the body of the Lord. Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas deal with the problem by positing the transformation of the Lord's energies (*śakti-pariṇāma-vāda*), specifically the external energy (*bahiraṅgā śakti*).

Take, for example, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*'s (sixth chapter) description of the creative process. The passage begins, “In the beginning, the eternal [*sat*] alone existed, one without a second.” This highlights the quandary of origination: everything that exists must come from Brahman; there can be no second, coexistent source. “And then it thought, ‘Let me become many. Let me propagate myself.’” The key phrase for our purposes is “*bahu syām*”—an expression of the desire for self-multiplication. The first thing that Jīva Gosvāmī draws from this statement is the reality of the world. If the world is a transformation of Brahman's *śakti*, and *śakti* is natural to him, then surely the creation cannot be false. “The Supreme Lord, who

<sup>25</sup> *taj-jātātvaḍ iti hetoḥ sarvasyaiva brahmatvaṁ nirdiśya tatrāviṣkṛtaḥ sad idaṁ iti prattīti-paramāśrayo yo 'mśaḥ sa eva śuddhaṁ brahmety uddiśyate.*

<sup>26</sup> Earlier in the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmī explains the *Chāndogya* passage in this way:

*kiṁ ca brahma-padena sarvaṁ khalv idaṁ brahmeti prasiddhiṁ vyajya sattvādi-guṇa-maya-māyāyās tad-anyatve 'pi nirguṇasyeti prākṛta-guṇair asprṣṭatvam aṅgikṛtya teṣāṁ bahiraṅgatvaṁ svīkṛtam.*

Furthermore, the word “*brahman*” in the famous passage “everything, indeed, is this Brahman” makes it clear that although *māyā*, consisting of qualities such as *sattva*, is nondifferent from Brahman, still it is agreed that Brahman, being *nirguṇa*, is untouched by material qualities and that these qualities are external (to it).

(*Bhagavat-sandarbha* 16)

possesses real, natural, and inconceivable *śakti*, would never make a mere illusory world, just as the master of a touchstone [*cintāmaṇi*] or the stone itself would never produce counterfeit gold.”<sup>27</sup> The example of a touchstone is significant, for this gem is said to have the special ability to produce large quantities of gold and other varieties of gems at the owner’s will. Yet the stone remains undiminished and unchanged. If a mere material object like the touchstone can possess this inconceivable power, then why cannot the transcendent Lord?<sup>28</sup> Jīva also returns to the analogy of fire and its light to make the same point: the light energy from a fire is as real as the fire, and the fire does not become diminished or transformed in any way by the spread of its light.<sup>29</sup>

### Bhagavān’s inconceivable *śakti*

#### *Different and nondifferent*

In our journey through the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava world of *śakti*, we have seen two opposing forces constantly at play with each other: unification and separation of the Lord and his energies. We described Bhagavān and his *śaktis* as identical in nature, and then distanced the two to preserve the Lord’s transcendence. We made sure that the creation had no existence separate from the Lord, and then took care to ensure that it did not compromise his perfection. We emphasized Bhagavān’s role as the ultimate cause of the world, while insisting that its fluctuations and miseries had nothing to do with him. And on the basis of scripture, we established that the world is God, and that the world proceeds out of God.

This constant struggle between unity and difference that characterizes the search for ultimate reality has been accepted by Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism as characteristic of the very nature of that reality. The relationship between Bhagavān and his energies is *bhedābheda*, simultaneous difference and

<sup>27</sup> bahu syām prajāyeya iti. tat-saṅkalpa eva vā vācyaḥ. satya-svābhāvikācintya-śaktiḥ paramēśvaras tuccha-māyikam api na kuryāt cintāmaṇīnām adhipatiḥ svayaṁ cintāmaṇir eva vā kūṭa-kanakādivat.  
(*Paramāṭma-sandarbhā* 71)

<sup>28</sup> Caitanya asks this question of Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (1.7.127):

prākṛta-vastute yadi acintya-śakti haya  
īśvarera acintya-śakti ithe ki vismaya

See verses 121–127 for Caitanya’s explanation of the doctrine of the transformation of energies (*śakti-pariṇāma-vāda*).

<sup>29</sup> See the end of Jīva’s commentary on the first aphorism of the *Brahma-sūtra*, where he again quotes the fire verse from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

non-difference. The polarities seen above must be accepted as they are. Both sides are equally reasonable, supported by scripture, and necessary; therefore, both must be held together. This, of course, is inconceivable to the human mind, and so the relation of *bhedābheda* is called *acintya*, inconceivable.<sup>30</sup>

Now, this derivation of *acintya* rests on an important assumption about the nature of scripture, namely, that all scriptural statements about Brahman—those affirming difference and those affirming non-difference—must be given equal weight and taken in their direct sense. Even the contradictions arising from reasoning about the nature of Brahman—that Brahman is unique yet diverse, aloof yet involved, changeless yet creative—are dependent on scripture, for it is scripture that tells us that Brahman must have all these opposing qualities.

Thus, if the tension in scriptural statements were to be removed in some other way, we would not arrive at inconceivability (*acintya*). Śaṅkara, for example, does find another way; he employs a complex hermeneutical method in which he bestows overarching importance on a few scriptural passages concerning the nature of Brahman, which he calls “great statements” (*mahāvākyas*). All other statements are then interpreted in light of them. The great statements invariably stress nonduality and the absence of attributes, allowing Śaṅkara to relegate statements of difference and quality to the realm of pragmatic reality (*vyāvahārika-sattā*). The perfect and infinite Brahman is so far beyond the realm of finite and determinable reality that words, even the words of scripture, have no direct access to it. Rather, they can only indirectly indicate it. “Even the great saying, ‘He is the Self; that thou art’, can only be applied to the supreme Self in a subtly indirect sense” (Lott 1980: 31). Later Advaita writers, such as Sureśvara have distinguished between the chief or direct meaning (*mukhya-vṛtti*) and the secondary or implied meaning (*lakṣaṇā-vṛtti*) of a sentence. Statements such as “that thou art” are to be read in accordance with the secondary meaning.<sup>31</sup>

This way of interpreting scripture, of course, is unacceptable to Vaiṣṇava Vedāntists, to whom statements describing Brahman’s manifold attributes are as important as assertions of his nonduality, since they provide the basis for a devotional relationship between the Lord and the devotee. In his conversation with Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī, Caitanya accuses him of covering the self-evident meaning of scripture by resorting to indirect interpretation. “You have given up the simple meaning of the *Brahma-sūtra*,” he says, “and

<sup>30</sup> The term *acintya-bhedābheda* is not widely used as the official name of Caitanyite Vedānta in the early literature of the school, although both the elements (*acintya* and *bhedābheda*) are ubiquitously discussed and frequently juxtaposed. The clearest statement of nomenclature is found in the *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, where Jīva Gosvāmī lists the names of different teachers and their schools of Vedānta, and then concludes by saying, “*sva-mate tu acintya-bhedābhedaḥ*,” “but my view is *acintya-bhedābheda*.”

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion of the Advaita interpretation of *tat tvam asi*, see Murty (1959: 91–93)



instead provided an imaginary interpretation based on the indirect meaning.<sup>32</sup> The syllable “*om*,” he argues, is the great statement and essence of the Upaniṣads, whereas “you are that” is only a limited or partial understanding.<sup>33</sup> For a complete understanding, one must also accept the statements of difference found in scripture, and be ready to hold both in tension with each other, without relegating one to a trivial status. As Gerald Carney puts it:

the transformation of the Lord’s powers is unthinkable but is not a relative truth perceived differently from finite or transfinite stand-points. Instead the operation of divine powers is unthinkable because it must be perceived as *both* different and identical, as manifest and unmanifest, from the *same* standpoint.

(1979: 107)

It is here that the Caitanyite concept of *acintya* must be distinguished from the concept of *anirvacanīya* (inexpressible) in Advaita Vedānta. The differences between the two concepts are not difficult to recognize, but they must be pointed out in order to prevent any simplistic attempt to assimilate one into the other. The two ideas arise for very different reasons. In the case of *anirvacanīya*, the fundamental quandary is the ontological status of the world. Is the phenomenal world real (*sat*) or unreal (*asat*)? It cannot be real, because by knowledge one comes to realize its deceptive nature—that it is not what it seems to be. That which is real can never be negated in this way. On the other hand, the world cannot be unreal, for it is initially cognized as real, and that which is unreal can never be an object of cognition. The world cannot be both real and unreal, for the same reasons that it cannot be either one of the two. The world must therefore be admitted as neither real nor

<sup>32</sup> ei mata prati-sūtre saha-jārtha chāḍiyā  
gauṇārtha vyākhyā kare kalpanā kariyā  
(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 1.7.133)

<sup>33</sup> praṇava’ se mahā-vākya vedera nidāna  
īśvara-svarūpa praṇava sarva-viśva-dhāma  
sarvāśraya īśvarera praṇava uddeśa  
“tat tvam asi” vākya haya vedera ekadeśa  
praṇava mahāvākya tāhā kari’ ācchādana  
mahāvākya kari ‘tat tvam asi’ra sthāpana.

The *praṇava* (*omkāra*) is the *mahāvākya* and the essence of the Veda. It is the form of the Lord and the abode of the entire universe. *Praṇava* is the meaning intended by the Lord who is the refuge of all. “*Tat tvam asi*” is only one aspect of the Veda. *Praṇava* is the *mahāvākya*. Obscuring that, you have established “*tat tvam asi*” as the *mahāvākya*.

(*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, 2.128–130)

unreal. Such a state is naturally *anirvacanīya*, inexpressible. The favorite Advaita metaphor of a snake and rope makes the situation clear:

When one sees a snake in the rope one cannot say whether the snake here is real or unreal. As long as one does not realise the illusion the snake exists; it is sublated only when one realises that it is a rope and not a snake. Thus the status of the snake here cannot be called real as it disappears when the real rope is seen; but it is not totally false for the one who saw it reacted to it as he would have on seeing a real snake. An unreal object like a round-square or a horse's horn cannot be a matter of experience.

(Rukmani 1991: 12)

Once the concept of *anirvacanīya* is established, it gains an ontological status of its own in Advaita Vedānta, as a category distinct from both the real and unreal, from Brahman and pure falsity. All the objects of experience in this world must be placed in the category of *anirvacanīya*.

This move from epistemological uncertainty to ontological category does not take place in the case of *acintya*, for the simple reason that the question at stake here is not an ontological one. Both Bhagavān and his *śaktis* are fully real. Nor is the question about the status of the relationship between them. Bhagavān and his *śaktis* are identical—and they are different. The difficulty arises in recognizing these two facts simultaneously, and the inability to do so leads to *acintya*. And this inconceivability arises necessarily, for a contradiction is inaccessible to the intellect in principle. Carney, therefore, misses the locus of contrast between *anirvacanīya* and *acintya* when he focuses on the issue of reality:

This usage [of *acintya*] is the reverse of the non-dualist *anirvacanīya* . . . [who] regard the world as false and unreal. Through the use of *acintya*, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas seek to recognize the truth and reality of the world."

(1979: 114–115)

In fact, *acintya* is not used as the reverse of *anirvacanīya*, for it addresses a different problem altogether. Nor does it lead to the reverse conclusion, for, as the Lord's *śakti*, the world is assumed to be real from the very start.

*Anirvacanīya* is the reverse of *acintya*, however, in regard to the method that is used to arrive at it. When faced with the problem of the status of the world, Advaita Vedānta chooses to avoid a direct contradiction, namely, that the world is both real and unreal, and instead selects a negative approach: the world is neither real nor unreal. On the other hand, when faced with the problem of the relation between the Lord and his *śaktis*, Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism prefers to assert their simultaneous difference and non-difference, instead of

avoiding both. The first approach leads to indescribability, since the world cannot be described as either real or unreal. The second approach leads to inconceivability, since Bhagavān and his *śaktis* can be described in many ways, but those descriptions will produce many contradictory elements that cannot be held together.<sup>34</sup>

*Where does “acintya” apply?*

Although we have been comparing the concepts of *anirvacanīya* and *acintya* specifically in terms of what they say or do not say about the status of the world, we should remember that the scope of *acintya* extends far beyond the realm of the external energy to the relation between the Lord and his *śakti* everywhere. The relationship between Bhagavān and his internal energy, for example, is equally inconceivable, despite the fact that the internal energy has the same nature as the Lord. This is due to the fact that the function of a *śakti* is irrelevant to its basic relationship with the Lord (although the distance of that relationship is affected). As we saw in the fire analogy, inconceivability arises simply from the fact that both difference and non-difference are in some way true. The clearest and most important example of this relation at work outside the phenomenal world is the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Rādhā, who is the personification of the Lord’s internal energy. Rādhā is non-different from Kṛṣṇa’s very nature (*svarūpa*), because she is his *svarūpa-śakti*. Kṛṣṇa cannot exist without Rādhā, for Rādhā is the Lord’s very power of existence. And Kṛṣṇa cannot act without Rādhā, for as his energy of bliss, she provides the very impetus for activity. Yet Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa eternally separate themselves for the purpose of pastimes (*līlā*). She is the energy and he is the possessor of energy, and thus they are different. At the beginning of *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja eloquently describes the play of unity and difference between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa:

<sup>34</sup> O.B.L. Kapoor makes a similar observation in *The Philosophy and Religion of Śrī Caitanya*:

The concept of Anirvacanīya is born out of respect for the Law of Contradiction. We refuse to describe an object and call it Anirvacanīya when it seems to violate this law. The concept of acintya is born out of respect for scriptural authority, which ignores the law of contradiction. The former is based on logic, the latter on Śrutārthāpatti.

(1962: 157)

At some level, however, both concepts are attempts to deal with the problem of contradiction. *Acintya* deals with it after the contradiction has surfaced, whereas *anirvacanīya* tries to avoid it beforehand.

Rādhā is the transformation of Kṛṣṇa's love and his energy of bliss. Therefore, although Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are one person, they have taken different bodies in the world from the beginning. Now, the two have again united and appeared as Caitanya. I bow down to that Caitanya who is Kṛṣṇa himself, adorned with the sentiment and luster of Rādhā.<sup>35</sup>

This verse epitomizes the mood and impetus behind *bhedābheda* in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. How an eternal unity can exist as an eternal duality and then reunite again is truly inconceivable. Yet, this is the view of scripture, and a matter of personal experience in the person of Caitanya. It is the very nature of the Supreme. The mystery of simultaneous difference and non-difference is embedded in every aspect of divinity.

Indeed, it is embedded in the nature of existence generally. The concept of *acintya* does not need to be limited to Bhagavān and his *śaktis*. In the *Bhagavat-sandarbhā*, Jīva Gosvāmī points out that the relationship between any object and its energy is inconceivable to the mind. He quotes yet again from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*: "O best of ascetics, the *śaktis* of all beings are outside the range of reasoned knowledge. Therefore Brahman's natural *śaktis*, such as creation, are also such—just like the heat of fire."<sup>36</sup> Kapoor explains:

- <sup>35</sup> rādhā kṛṣṇa-praṇaya-vikṛtir hlādinī śaktir asmād  
ekātmanāv api bhuvi purā deha-bhedam gatau tau  
caitanyākhyam prakāṣam adhunā tad-dvayam caikyam āptam  
rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-suvalitam naumi kṛṣṇa-svarūpam  
(1.1.5)

This verse is part of the auspicious invocation (*maṅgalācaraṇa*) of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. According to the author, this and the subsequent verse state the purpose of Caitanya's descent.

- <sup>36</sup> śaktayaḥ sarva-bhāvānām acintya-jñāna-gocarāḥ  
yato 'to brahmaṇas tās tu sargādyā bhāva-śaktayaḥ  
bhavanti tapatām śreṣṭha pāvakasya yathoṣṇatā  
(1.3.2)

The compound *acintya-jñāna-gocarāḥ* is difficult to interpret. Śrīdhara Svāmī gives two options. "The *śaktis* are accessible by knowledge that is inconceivable, i.e., that does not give in to logic (*tarkāsaham*). Or else: inconceivability means that the *śaktis* cannot be conceived of as either different or non-different, and so are accessible only through knowledge gained by *arthāpatti*." To allow for both possibilities, I have translated *cintya-jñāna* as "reasoned knowledge" and applied the negation to the entire compound. Also, I have taken "*bhāva-śaktayaḥ*" as "*svabhāva-śaktayaḥ*," following Śrīdhara Svāmī. It could also be translated as "śaktis having to do with becoming (i.e. creation)," but that would cause an overlap in meaning with its qualifier "*sargādyāḥ*."



We cannot think of fire without the power of burning; similarly, we cannot think of the power of burning without fire. Both are identical. Fire is nothing except that which burns; the power of burning is nothing except fire in action. At the same time, fire and its power of burning are not absolutely the same. If they were absolutely the same, there would be no sense in . . . saying “fire burns.” It would be enough to say “fire.” “Fire burns” would involve needless repetition, for “fire” would mean the same thing as “burns.” Besides, if there were no difference between fire and its power, it would not be possible to neutralise the power of burning in fire by means of medicines or *mantra*, without making fire disappear altogether.

(1977: 153)

Thus, two contradictory relations can be shown at once: fire is identical to its power of burning, and it is distinct. This contradiction leads directly to inconceivability. The same reasoning could be applied to any object and its power—the cooling effect of water, the sterilizing ability of the sun, or the power of the atom. In his commentary on this *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* verse, Śrīdhara Svāmī offers the example of powerful gems and mantras.

What then is distinctive about the powers of Bhagavān? Is he too like an object of this world? Certainly, we cannot infer the nature of the Lord’s *śaktis* from the *śaktis* of material things, for the Lord is fully transcendental and therefore unlike anything in the phenomenal world. Indeed, the *Brahma-sūtras* make it clear that the nature of Brahman is accessible only by scriptural testimony (*śabda*), and not by logic (*tarka*) or inference (*anumāna*). We have already noted that it is the statements of scripture that provide the contradiction necessary to arrive at *acintya*. Yet, the question still remains as to whether the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava concept of *acintya* is in some way uniquely applicable to Bhagavān.

The answer to this question has been a source of some disagreement between two respected Gauḍīya scholars. Rādhā Govinda Nath and O.B.L. Kapoor. On the strength of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* verse quoted above, Nath believes that *acintya-bhedābheda* applies in general to the relation between *śakti* and the possessor of *śakti*. Kapoor argues that this is only a secondary extension of the concept, which applies primarily to Bhagavān’s *śakti*. He gives two reasons for his claim:

Firstly, Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin has expounded the doctrine of *Acintya-bhedābheda* in the context of the problem of relation between God and the world, and not in the context of the problem of relation between objects and their powers in general. . . . Secondly, if the doctrine of *Acintya-bhedābheda* was taken to imply the

Acintya-śakti of objects in general, the relation of difference and non-difference between God and the world would no doubt proceed as a deduction from the general rule. But the problem of preserving God's purity in spite of His relation with the world would still remain unsolved . . . It is only the acintya-śakti of God that can reconcile transcendence with immanence.

(ibid.: 158)

The issue does not settle itself so easily, however. While it is true that Jīva Gosvāmī's primary concern is the relation between Bhagavān and his *śaktis*, there is nothing to rule out the possibility that he sees that relation as a particular instance of a more general relational inconceivability. Certainly, such a broader view would not have detracted from his main thesis regarding Bhagavān's *śakti*. Regarding Kapoor's second argument, we may recall that it was precisely in an attempt to preserve Bhagavān's purity in the face of a changing world that the relation of *bhedābheda* arose. The inconceivable character of this relation provides for both transcendence (difference) and immanence (non-difference), in as much as fire is both different and non-different from its light.

Perhaps a better place to look for distinctiveness in regard to Bhagavān's *śaktis* is in their function or operation. The Lord's energies are inconceivable because they are inconceivable in their working: they produce wondrous creations, accomplish herculean tasks, and display endless variety. This seems to be a usage of *acintya* that is very different from what we have been exploring so far. Indeed, in Caitanyite literature, *acintya* is used much more often to describe the workings of Bhagavān's *śakti* than to describe the relation between them. A quick survey of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* reveals that around 90 percent of references to inconceivable energy (*acintya-śakti* or *acintya-prabhāva*) have to do with the Lord's ability to perform wonderful feats and display contradictory qualities. These qualities and activities defy the rules of logic and the limits of human comprehension. A good illustration of this usage of *acintya* is in relation to the person of Caitanya, who (as we noted above) is considered Kṛṣṇa himself, but in the mood of his devotee, Rādhā. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja makes note of the paradox:

Thus, the Lord himself accepts the sentiment of the cowherd maidens [*gopīs*] and addresses Kṛṣṇa, "O lord of my life!" He is Kṛṣṇa; he is a *gopī*—this is a great contradiction. The inconceivable character of the Lord is very difficult to comprehend. One should not apply logic or have doubts in this regard. It is the inconceivable *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa—this is my verdict. The pastimes of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya are inconceivable and amazing. Wonderful is his mood! Wonderful are his qualities! Wonderful is his behavior! That sinful person who

does not accept this due to logic will cook in the Kumbhīpāka hell.  
For him there is no deliverance.<sup>37</sup>

Kṛṣṇadāsa next quotes a verse from the Mahābhārata that is used by both Rūpa Gosvāmī and Jīva to explain the concept of *acintya*: “Indeed, one should not apply logic to those things that are inconceivable. The characteristic of the inconceivable is that it is beyond the material elements.”<sup>38</sup> The transcendental, non-material nature of inconceivability makes it an attribute that can be properly applied only to Bhagavān.

### *Making the impossible possible*

An example of *acintya* being used in relation to the impossible activities of the Lord is found in *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.13, which describes Caitanya’s ecstatic dancing at the chariot festival in Purī. Caitanya divided his devotees into seven groups of singers, musicians, and dancers to accompany the parade. Then, in a similar vein to Kṛṣṇa’s dancing in the *rāsa* dance, Caitanya expanded himself to dance simultaneously in all seven groups. Devotees in each of the groups thought that the Lord was favoring them alone, but the intimate devotees could see the entire situation. They understood it as the play of the Lord’s *acintya-śakti*, which makes all things possible.

Indeed, Jīva Gosvāmī defines inconceivability as the condition of accomplishing what is difficult or impossible to accomplish (*durghaṭa-ghaṭatvam*), and Bhagavān’s *śakti* as that which has the ability to do so.<sup>39</sup> He quotes two

<sup>37</sup> ataeva āpane prabhu gopī-bhāva dhari’  
vrajendra-nandane kahe “prāṇa-nātha” kari’  
sei kṛṣṇa, sei gopī, parama virodha  
acintya caritra prabhura ati sudurbodha  
ithe tarka kari’ keha nā kara saṁśaya  
kṛṣṇera acintya-śakti ei mata haya  
acintya, adbhuta kṛṣṇa-caitanya-vihāra  
citra bhāva, citra guṇa, citra vyavahāra  
tarke ihā nāhi māne yei durācāra  
kumbhīpāke pace, tāra nāhika nistāra  
(1.17.303–307)

<sup>38</sup> acintyāḥ khalu ye bhāvā na tāms tarkeṇa yojayet  
prakṛtibhyaḥ param yac ca tad acintyasya lakṣaṇam  
(Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma-parva) 6.5.22, quoted  
in Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu 2.5.93,  
Tattva-sandarbha 11, Sarva-saṁvādinī p. 53,  
and Caitanya-caritāmṛta 1.17.308)

<sup>39</sup> See Bhagavat-sandarbha 16 and 42. In the Sarva-saṁvādinī (p. 57), Jīva defines Bhagavān’s *śakti* as *asambhava-sambhāvayitrī dustarkā svabhāvikī*—natural, difficult to grasp by logic, and that which makes the impossible possible.

aphorisms (*sūtras*) of the *Brahma-sūtra* to substantiate his point: “*śrutes tu śabda-mūlatvāt*” (2.1.27) and “*ātmani caivam vicitrās ca hi*” (2.1.28). Both aphorisms occur in the *Brahma-sūtra*’s second chapter, which raises and puts to rest various possible objections to the Vedāntic standpoint. According to all three major commentators, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva, the problem being addressed in the two *sūtras* is the fact that Brahman is a simple whole without any parts (*anavayava*) and at the same time the creator of the world.

If Brahman is wholly transformed into the world, it would *exhaust* its being in the world of effects and there will be no Brahman left outside the realm of effects [for us] to seek, contemplate and realize. If it transforms only in part it would mean that Brahman is divisible into parts which would ruin its integrality.

(Sharma 1986: 394)

The quandary sounds very similar to others we have encountered before: one of Brahman’s essential attributes is put into jeopardy by the transformation of the world. The solutions offered in the two aphorisms (*sūtras*) also follow the trend of our previous discussion.

Both Rāmānuja and Madhva agree on the *sūtras*’ basic interpretation. The first, “*śrutes tu śabda-mūlatvāt*,” asserts that inference or logic has no access to Brahman, who is knowable only through scripture. The second, “*ātmani caivam vicitrās ca hi*,” reminds us that Brahman possesses wonderful powers that can accomplish all things. The thrust of both aphorisms is that Brahman’s utterly transcendental nature—in both epistemological and ontological terms—puts it beyond the reach of contradictions and impossibilities. B.N.K. Sharma expounds the Mādhva interpretation of the *sūtras* in language that is quite amenable to the Caitanya theology of *śakti*:

Seemingly contradictory attributes can, therefore, be reconciled in Brahman where and when borne out by the Śrutis—without any difficulty. . . . We hear of Agastya drinking off at a draught the mighty ocean whose other shore is beyond our ken. Why should it surprise us if God should have powers which are incomprehensible to our understanding and by which he could accomplish what is unaccomplishable by human standards? . . . The mysterious powers of God are invoked here only to explain what are observed or borne out by Pramāṇas [means of valid knowledge] which nevertheless seem to be incompatible or defy explanation.

(ibid.: 387)

This is precisely the second sense in which *acintya* is used in Caitanya literature: the inconceivable power of the Lord to accomplish the impossible.



This fact is not lost on Jīva, who quotes these two *sūtras* in the *Tattva, Bhagavat*, and *Paramātmā Sandarbhas*, as well as in the *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, usually in the context of discussion about the Lord's inconceivable energies.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, we have seen two applications of inconceivability in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism—one to describe the relation between Bhagavān and his *śaktis*, and the other to describe the operation of those *śaktis*. The two usages are quite disparate, for there is no entailment from one to the other. They work together, however, in pointing to the greatness of Bhagavān. Indeed, the lengthy definition of Bhagavān we encountered at the beginning of this section comfortably holds together the different meanings of *acintya*:

Bhagavān possesses inconceivable, multifarious, and unlimited energies that are of his own nature and he is the ocean of unlimited, mutually contradictory qualities, such that in him both the attribute and the possessor of attributes, the lack of differences and varieties of difference, formlessness and form, pervasiveness and centrality—all are true.

It is the very nature of the Supreme to bestow truth or reality on all that is related to him. Since he is the single, ultimate resting place of everything, and the varieties of existence are endless, we are sure to find endless, incompatible truths at rest in him. This will lead to the defeat of mental abilities and the admission of inconceivability.

Thus we have come full circle in our discussion of divinity in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. In a way, the entire journey has been an exploration of the contours of the single Bhāgavata verse with which we began the section: “*vadanti tat tattva-vidas tattvam yaj jñānam advayam/brahmeti paramātmēti bhagavān iti śabdyate.*” We mapped the different names of Godhead found in this verse, and traced their referents in accordance with Caitanyite theology. The name “Bhagavān” was especially rich in its connotation, as it included myriad energies in its fold. The tension of unity and plurality, or identity and difference, was raised by the words “*tattvam advayam*,” and we pursued the problem until it gave way to relation beyond conception. True to the paradoxical spirit of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, inconceivability itself was conceived in more than one way, finding ultimate resolution only in the greatness of Bhagavān.

<sup>40</sup> See *Tattva-sandarbhā* 11, *Bhagavat-sandarbhā* 15, *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* 58, and *Sarva-saṁvādinī* p. 57. The latter work is a supplement to the first four *Sandarbhās* wherein Jīva highlights issues of particular concern and discusses them in greater depth.

### Hermeneutics applied

In many ways, the course we have taken follows Jīva Gosvāmī's own method of exposition in the Sandarbhas. At one level, the *Tattva*, *Bhagavat* and *Paramātmā Sandarbhas* can be seen simply as a commentary on the "vadanti" verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. At the very beginning of the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmī uses the "vadanti" verse to tie together the preceding Sandarbha with what is to follow:

Having indicated that truth which is characterized by non-dual knowledge in general terms, the "vadanti" verse now delineates the specific characteristics of its existence, which are manifest according to the differences in the eligibility of the worshippers. This is done by the second half of the verse, *brahmeti paramātmēti bhagavān iti śabdyate*.<sup>41</sup>

Jīva conscientiously tracks his progress in terms of this verse throughout the next two Sandarbhas. He ends the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* with the statement, "Thus, Brahman and Bhagavān have been explained," and begins the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* by saying, "Now, Paramātmā is being explained." He ends the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* with a note of satisfaction, "The verse beginning 'vadanti' has been firmly established." The first three Sandarbhas deal with *sambandha-jñāna*—knowledge of God, the living entities, and the relationship between them. With the *Bhakti-sandarbha*, we are outside the jurisdiction of the "vadanti" verse and into the realm of *abhidheya*, or the process of re-establishing that relationship.

We have already noted that the overall purpose of the Sandarbhas, and of our passage in particular, is to establish and expound the meaning of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The exclusive attention given to "vadanti" may at first seem to hinder this purpose, since it narrowly filters the available material in accordance with the meaning of a single verse. Yet, in Jīva's eyes, this is precisely the proper use of "vadanti," for this verse lays down the subject matter of the entire *Purāṇa*. Thus, the verse serves as a compass with which to navigate the contours of the *Bhāgavata* and organize its contents into a coherent scheme. In the *Tattva-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmī quotes the second verse of the *Bhāgavata* to remind his readers of the sublime nature of the *Purāṇa*'s contents: "The subject matter (or reality) to be known here is genuine and it grants welfare, destroying the three miseries." When asked what

<sup>41</sup> athaivam advaya-jñāna-lakṣaṇam tat tattvaṁ sāmānyato lakṣayitvā punar upāsaka-yogyatā-vaiśiṣṭyena prakāṣita-niṣa-sattā-viśeṣaṁ viśeṣato nirūpayati "vadanti" iti, asyaivottarārdhena brahmeti paramātmēti bhagavān iti śabdyate.

(*Bhagavat-sandarbha* 1)

the nature of that reality is, Jīva quotes the “vadanti” verse.<sup>42</sup> The import (*tātparya*) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the non-dual, conscious reality known as Brahman, Paramātmā and Bhagavān.<sup>43</sup>

By the time we reach the *Catuhṣūtrī Ṭikā* in the *Paramātmā-sandarbha*, Jīva has in fact already completed his exploration of the “vadanti” verse. Just before the beginning of our passage in section 105, he notes, “Thus, Brahman, Bhagavān and Paramātmā have been described.” In the remaining portion of the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* (i.e., section 105), Jīva intends to establish the import of the *Bhāgavata* using a very different method, namely, application of the six-fold indicators of meaning (*tātparya-liṅga*). This represents the culmination of Jīva’s attempt in the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* to establish Bhagavān as the ultimate import of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This will be the primary focus of our study.

Nevertheless, the “vadanti” verse and the six indicators of meaning are not the only ways in which Jīva tries to establish the import of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and, by extension, of the scriptural corpus in general. Jīva makes various attempts throughout the *Sandarbhās*, selecting different sections of the *Bhāgavata* for interpretation. A brief examination of two other such attempts would provide a broader context for our own study of the six-indicator interpretive method and the *Catuhṣūtrī Ṭikā* included within it. In both attempts, Jīva utilizes sections of the *Bhāgavata* that would be natural places to look for indications of overall meaning.

In the first instance, Jīva looks at the circumstances surrounding the composition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. The *Purāṇa* tells the story of its own genesis in Chapters 4–7 of the first book. There, Sūta Gosvāmī describes how Vyāsa, out of concern for the people of this age (*Kali-yuga*), divided the original Veda into four and taught them to four separate pupillary lines. He also compiled the fifth Veda, including the *Purāṇas* and *Mahābhārata*, for those ineligible to study the four Vedas. But despite doing all this for the welfare of humanity, Vyāsa felt dissatisfied and despondent. As he pondered his plight, Nārada arrived at the hermitage and

<sup>42</sup> atha kiṁ-svarūpaṁ tad vastu-tattvam ity atrāha vadanti tat tattva-vidas tattvaṁ yaj jñānam advayaṁ iti.  
(*Tattva-sandarbha* 51)

<sup>43</sup> The context in which the verse appears lends some support to Jīva’s claim for its primacy. In the first chapter of the *Bhāgavata*, Śaunaka and the other sages ask Sūta Gosvāmī a series of questions that serve as the impetus for the recitation of the entire *Purāṇa*. Nevertheless, his immediate and essential replies are found in verse eleven of Chapter 1: “There are many scriptures, with many divisions, and many (prescribed) activities. Therefore, O sage, after due consideration, please extract and tell us the essence, for the good of all living beings—that essence by which one becomes completely satisfied.”

began analyzing Vyāsa's situation. In no uncertain terms, Nārada told the author that the reason for his dissatisfaction was that he had not described the fame, qualities, and activities of Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, which alone can relieve all miseries. All other topics are like "places of pilgrimage for crows."<sup>44</sup> Nārada orders Vyāsa to meditate on the activities of Viṣṇu in trance (*samādhi*) and describe them in the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam.<sup>45</sup>

Now, the nature of this trance is of paramount concern to Jīva Gosvāmī in the *Tattva-sandarbha*, for the trance's contents determine the contents of the entire Bhāgavata. Jīva focuses on verse four of Chapter 7: "With a pure mind, perfectly fixed through the yoga of devotion [*bhakti*], Vyāsa saw the Complete Person [*pūrṇapuruṣa*] along with *māyā*, which rests outside him."<sup>46</sup> Here, Jīva locates all the main elements of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava conception of Bhagavān: his complete personhood, his distant association with the external energy (*māyā*), and *bhakti* as the means of achieving him. The internal energy is included within the epithet "Complete Person" (*pūrṇa-puruṣa*), just as when we say "he saw the full moon," we mean that he saw the moon along with its brilliance.<sup>47</sup> The third energy, namely the living entities, figures into the next verse: "Vyāsa saw that power [*māyā*] by which the deluded living entity thinks of himself as consisting of the three qualities [*guṇas*], although he is beyond them, and consequently attains misery."<sup>48</sup> Here Jīva Gosvāmī takes the opportunity to engage in a lengthy polemic with the doctrine of nondualism (Advaita) and the doctrine of illusion (*māyāvāda*). The next two verses, however, provide the real clincher:

Vyāsa composed this *Sātvata-saṁhitā* (the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*) for people who do not know that *bhakti-yoga* for Adhokṣaja (Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa) directly alleviates these miseries. Simply by hearing the

<sup>44</sup> "That eloquent speech which does not describe the world-purifying glories of Hari is regarded by sages as a place of pilgrimage for crows. The swans, who reside in desirable places, do not take pleasure there." (*Bhāgavata* 1.5.10) Nārada also uses words like "*jugupsitam*" (disgusting) and "*mahān vyatikramah*" (great transgression) to describe Vyāsa's prior writings (1.5.15).

<sup>45</sup> *samādhinānusmara tad-viceṣṭitam* (1.5.11).

<sup>46</sup> *bhakti-yogena manasi samyak praṇihite 'male  
apaśyat puruṣaṁ pūrṇaṁ māyāṁ ca tad-apāśrayam*  
(Cited in *Tattva-sandarbha* 30)

<sup>47</sup> *tam apaśyat śrī-veda-vyāsa iti svarūpa-śaktimantam evety etat svayam eva labdham  
pūrṇaṁ candram apaśyad ity ukte kāntimantam apaśyad iti labhyate*  
(*Tattva-sandarbha* 31)

<sup>48</sup> *yayā sammohito jīva ātmānaṁ tri-guṇātmakam  
paro 'pi manutenarthaṁ tat-kṛtāṁ cābhīpadyate*  
(1.7.5)



*Bhāgavata*, *bhakti* for the Supreme Person Kṛṣṇa arises and destroys one's lamentation, illusion and fear.<sup>49</sup>

The Complete Person mentioned in the first verse as the object of Vyāsa's vision is now identified with Kṛṣṇa. Thus, both the origin and destination of the *Bhāgavata* are Bhagavān, who must therefore be its ultimate subject matter (*tātparya*).

Another set of verses which Jīva considers indicative of the *Bhāgavata*'s overall meaning is the famous Catuṣ-ślokī, or four-verse *Bhāgavata*, spoken by Viṣṇu to Brahmā at the beginning of creation. After Brahmā has performed penance for a hundred celestial years, Viṣṇu reveals himself along with his abode and associates, and blesses Brahmā. Brahmā then asks four questions, which the Lord also answers in four concise verses. These verses are regarded by commentators as the original and essential *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.<sup>50</sup>

Jīva Gosvāmī's primary concern in explaining the four-verse *Bhāgavata* is to establish Bhagavān (in the technical, Gauḍīya sense of the word) as its speaker. Once this is done, the other philosophical ideas found in the verses can be expounded in terms of the central character. Jīva therefore focuses his comments on the first word of the first verse—the first person pronoun 'I': "I alone existed in the beginning, and nothing else that is beyond cause and effect. I exist afterwards, this (that exists now) is me, and what remains is also me."<sup>51</sup> Jīva writes:

Even in the four-verse account, Bhagavān alone is the meaning. He taught about himself by teaching his own knowledge . . . Here, the word "I" identifies a speaker who has a form, and not the unqualified Brahman, because the unqualified cannot be an object

<sup>49</sup> anarthopaśamaṁ sākṣād bhakti-yogam adhokṣaje  
lokasyājānato vidvāṁś cakre sātvata-saṁhitām  
yasyām vai śrūyamāṇāyām kṛṣṇe parama-pūruṣe  
bhaktir utpadyate puṁsaḥ śoka-moha-bhayāpahā  
(1.7.6–7)

<sup>50</sup> Viṣṇu's speech to Brahmā actually consists of seven verses, leading Vallabhācārya to regard the essential *Bhāgavata* as *sapta-ślokī*. The majority of commentators, however, consider the first two and the seventh to be supporting verses. Jīva follows Śrīdhara and accepts the four-verse *Bhāgavata*, but comments on the first six in the *Bhagavat-sandarbhā*. For a detailed survey of the various commentaries on the seven verses, both from Gauḍīya and Vāllabha perspectives, see Rasik Vihari Joshi, "Catuṣślokī or Saptaslokī Bhāgavata: A Critical Study."

<sup>51</sup> aham evāsam evāgre nānyad yat sad-asat param  
paścād ahaṁ yad etac ca yo 'vaśiṣyeta so 'smy aham  
(2.9.33)

of reference . . . As the third book of the *Bhāgavata* says, "Only Bhagavān, the soul of souls and all-pervading, existed in the beginning." Therefore, Vaikuṇṭha, the Lord's associates, and other such paraphernalia, are all included in the word "I," because they are his secondary portions, just as when we say, "There goes the king."<sup>52</sup>

This passage provides a good example of the interpretive power of the Bhagavān concept. Once the referent of the first person pronoun has been identified as Bhagavān, Jīva can immediately include the entire, variegated spiritual realm within the scope of "*aham*." Thus, we end up with a meaning that is surprisingly opposite to what one would expect, especially from a verse as exclusivist as this. "I alone existed in the beginning" comes to mean "I and everything else in relation to me existed in the beginning." This leap in meaning is justified in the following way: From the *Bhāgavata*'s description, we know that Viṣṇu is present before Brahmā in his radiant, four-armed form, accompanied by his consort Śrī, and surrounded by his loving devotees.<sup>53</sup> He has just dealt with Brahmā in a very personal way, by shaking his hand and wishing him good luck.<sup>54</sup> Now, in response to Brahmā's queries, Viṣṇu points to himself and says, "I alone existed in the beginning. . . ." Since the Lord does not draw any distinction between himself now and himself "in the beginning," we may assume that he is saying, "I, as you see me here, existed in the beginning." Ordinarily, when using a first person pronoun, the speaker does not refer to himself in a disassociated, abstract or solipsist sense. "I lived in Venice" normally means, "I, in a condition similar to what you see now—that is, with my clothing, shoes, bank account, a residence, vehicle, and some neighbors—lived in Venice." This is especially true in the case of Bhagavān, who does not gain or lose

<sup>52</sup> ataś catuḥ-śloki-prasaṅge 'pi śrī-bhagavān evārthaḥ. . . atrāhaṁ-śabdena tad-vaktā mūrta evocyate na tu nirviṣeṣaṁ brahma tad-aviṣayatvāt. . . bhagavān eka āśedam agra ātmātmanāṁ vibhuḥ ityādi tṛtīyāt. ato vaikuṇṭha-tat-pārsadādīnām api tad-upāṅgatvād ahaṁ-padenaiva grahaṇaṁ rājāsau prayātilīvat.

(*Bhagavat-sandarbha* 95)

<sup>53</sup> (Brahmā saw that the Lord) wore a helmet, earrings, and yellow dress. He had four hands, and his chest was marked by Śrī. His face was decorated with reddish eyes and a pleasing smile. He was favourably disposed toward his servitors, and his very sight was intoxicating. The supreme Īśvara was seated on a worshipable throne, surrounded by the four, sixteen, and five śaktis, and endowed with his personal opulences (*bhaga*), as well as other, impermanent ones. Thus, he was delighting in his own abode.

(*Bhāgavata* 2.9.16–17)

<sup>54</sup> See 2.9.19–21.

anything over time, and whose personal effects are all eternal and natural to him. In the passage above, Jīva Gosvāmī gives another example: we point to a large royal procession and say, “there goes the king.” Although we use a singular noun, we are actually saying that the king is passing by along with his retinue, for the king never travels alone. The Lord too is never alone, or to put it differently, his singular nature subsumes unlimited variety within it.

Like the four-verse *Bhāgavata* and Vyāsa’s trance, there are many other sections of the *Bhāgavata* which become the focus of Jīva Gosvāmī’s special attention in the first three Sandarbhas—the four Kumāras’ vision of Vaikuṇṭha, prayers by the personified Vedas, the ten characteristics of a *mahā-purāṇa*, the liberated status of Śukadeva, the account of creation by the four-fold manifestation (*catur-vyūha*), and so on. Each of these is deliberately selected to highlight particular aspects of Caitanyite theology, and then explicated not just in a general way, but with careful attention to the interpretation of individual verses and phrases. By the time we reach the *Catuhśūtrī Ṭikā*, Jīva Gosvāmī has already delineated and argued for all the important facets of Caitanya Vaiṣṇava theology. He also has, as we have seen, dealt with many of the major issues of concern in Vedānta—the nature of Brahman, the process of creation, the relationship between Brahman, the world, and living entities, the status of ignorance, the coherence of scriptural texts, and the ways of knowing reality. All of this background is assumed for the reader of the *Catuhśūtrī Ṭikā*, making the commentary quite dense in its argumentation. In many places, Jīva quotes only the beginning words of a verse that he has discussed in detail elsewhere, leaving the reader to figure out how the verse fits into his argument. Take, for example, his commentary on the concluding verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which states that the Supreme Truth (*satyaṁ param*) originally revealed the *Purāṇa* to Brahmā (12.13.19). To support his claim that this Truth is in fact Bhagavān who taught the *Bhāgavata* to Brahmā at the dawn of creation, Jīva makes reference to three prior discussions, two of which we have already seen:

In the same way, here also the speaker of the four verses is understood to be Bhagavān, and he who is revealed in the trance of Śrī Vyāsa is understood to be the object of meditation. And this same Bhagavān was sought by the heart of Śrī Śuka: “Filled with his own happiness. . . .”

The verse about Śukadeva and the trance of Vyāsa were discussed at length in the *Tattva-sandarbha*, while the explanation of the four verses is found in the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*. A reader who is familiar with these discussions will quickly see the connection with the exegetical point being made by Jīva here.

Given all that he has already done in the first three Sandarbhas, Jīva's purpose in the *Catuhṣūtrī Tīkā* is to make an explicit connection between the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the Upaniṣadic tradition, and engage with Vedānta using the system's own method and structure. This, of course, means commenting on the *sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, using the Upaniṣads as one's primary proof-texts. With this background in early Caitanya Vaiṣṇava hermeneutics, let us now turn to the specifics of Jīva Gosvāmī's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*.



## SOURCES FOR CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVA VEDĀNTA

### Jīva Gosvāmī's audience

Both the structure and content of Jīva Gosvāmī's *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā* will become clearer once we determine the way in which he makes use of his sources, especially those outside his immediate circle of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas. Clearly, Jīva is heavily indebted to earlier teachers for his understanding of the *Brahma-sūtra*—specifically, Rāmānuja, Śrīdhara Svāmī, Madhva, and Śaṅkara, of whom he mentions Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara by name in his *Ṭikā*. No Vedāntic commentator is autonomous in his interpretation, and much less so as we move later in the commentarial tradition. Indeed, Jīva Gosvāmī owes the majority of his commentary to his predecessors—from his basic understanding of the *sūtras*, to the choice of Upaniṣadic texts to be cited, to the style of writing he employs. Still, it is obvious that Jīva's intention was not simply to summarize earlier ideas. The *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā* was clearly not meant as a pedagogical aid, nor a sort of Vedānta digest. Indeed, it appears to be just the opposite. Jīva is writing for an elite audience of scriptural experts with deep knowledge of Vedāntic postulates. It is very difficult, and in some place impossible, to understand his point without prior, independent knowledge of his sources.

In some cases, this is simply a question of knowing the context of the passage he is utilizing. For example, while giving a basic, word-by-word explanation of *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.4, "*tat tu samanvayāt*," Jīva writes,

How is Brahman proved by scripture? That is stated by "*tat tu*." The word "*tu*" is for the purpose of removing the doubt raised earlier. "*Tat*" indicates that Brahman can be proved by scripture. Why? Because of *samanvaya*. Establishing something by positive and negative concomitance [*anvaya* and *vyatireka*] is *samanvaya*.

Here, Jīva does not identify the "doubt raised earlier," nor does he return to the word *tu* later in his comments. His main concern is with the word *samanvaya*, since it ties into the *Bhāgavata*'s phrase in the first verse, "*anvayād*

*itarataś ca.*" Jīva thus expects his readers to first of all recognize this as Rāmānuja's explanation, and, second, to recall the doubt raised earlier in that context. As it happens, the doubt comes from the Mīmāṃsakas who consider Brahman to be irrelevant to scripture, since knowledge of him has nothing to do with injunctive activity. To restate the objection and provide an explanation would detract too much from Jīva's primary purpose, namely, to demonstrate how Brahman can be known by the method of positive and negative concomitance (*anvaya* and *vyatireka*), as described in the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*.

In other places, however, knowing the context of a source passage is not sufficient to grasp Jīva's thesis. At the beginning of his explanation of the *Bhāgavata*'s concluding verse (12.13.19), Jīva makes two points in quick succession and uses Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* to support them:

The verse "*kasmai yena vibhāsito 'yam*" shows that the Lord possesses such distinctions, etc., (as described earlier). In the second interpretation of "*ātmagrhitir itaravad uttarāi*"<sup>1</sup> found in Śaṅkara's *Brahma-sūtra* commentary, the referent of the word "*sat*," mentioned in the opening statement, is understood to be the *ātmā*, because the word "*ātmā*" is present in the concluding statement. In the same way, here also the speaker of the four-verse *Bhāgavata* is understood to be Bhagavān, and he who is revealed in the trance of Śrī Vyāsa is alone understood to be the object of meditation.

Although Jīva refers to Śaṅkara's commentary on *Brahma-sūtra* 3.3.16, the actual meaning of the *sūtra* or the content of Śaṅkara's comments are irrelevant to his purpose here. Jīva is interested only in Śaṅkara's interpretive strategy, by which he hopes to justify his own method of arriving at the two conclusions. Śaṅkara's reasoning is highly involved, and Jīva's application of the reasoning is no less sophisticated. (For a detailed explanation of both, see the notes to my translation of this passage.) Yet, the only help Jīva provides to his reader to find a connection between such disparate items as *sat*, *ātmā*, the four verses, and Vyāsa's trance are the words "in the same way." The *sūtra* quoted is not an especially famous one, nor is Śaṅkara's second interpretation of it any more so. Clearly, Jīva possesses an intimate working knowledge of his sources, and he assumes the same of his readers.

Much to the satisfaction of his modern-day readers, Jīva takes care to spell out his sources and methodology at the beginning of the *Bhāgavata*-

<sup>1</sup> *Brahma-sūtra* 3.3.16.

*sandarbha*. He indicates that he is aware of the existence of at least eleven commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and four literary works based upon it.<sup>2</sup> His own interpretation of *Bhāgavata* passages, however, will be based on only a few works, namely, Śrīdhara Svāmī's *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* and other writings,<sup>3</sup> Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*, and several works by Madhva (*Tattva-sandarbha* 27–28).

## Śrīdhara Svāmī

### Śrīdhara's theological stance

Of all his sources, Jīva Gosvāmī makes the most profuse use of Śrīdhara Svāmī. Quotations from his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, called *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, are ubiquitous in the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, and are introduced simply with the words “*īkā ca*,” “and the commentary [says].” Most sections of the text follow a standard structure: Jīva introduces the main topic under consideration with a single sentence, often ending with “*yathā*,” “as (it is stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*).” He then quotes the verse from the *Bhāgavata* to be discussed, and provides Śrīdhara Svāmī's comments. Finally, he offers his own explanation, ties things back to the issue at hand, and supplies supporting quotations. If, for some reason, he does not quote Śrīdhara Svāmī's commentary directly, he will very often include its salient points in his own comments. Jīva sees this structure as mimicking the *sūtra*-and-commentary style of exegesis:

Therefore we will examine the *Bhāgavata* alone, observing consistency between the earlier and later portions, in order to determine what is the supreme good. Here in this composition of six volumes, the introductory remarks will occupy the position of *sūtras*, and the words of the *Bhāgavata*, the subject matter. Our interpretation of the words of the *Bhāgavata*, representing a kind of commentary

<sup>2</sup> The commentaries named by Jīva are the *Tantra-bhāgavata*, *Hanumad-bhāṣya*, *Vāsanā-bhāṣya*, *Sambandhokti*, *Vidvad-kāmadhenu*, *Tattva-dīpikā*, *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, *Paramahansa-priyā*, *Śukahrdaya*, and the commentaries of Puṇyārāṇya and Citsukha. Literary works (*nibandhas*) mentioned are Vopadeva's *Muktā-phala* and *Hari-līlā*, Hemādri's *Catur-varga-cintāmaṇi*, and the *Bhakti-ratnāvali* of Viṣṇu Purī (*Tattva-sandarbha* 23).

<sup>3</sup> Jīva writes in the *Tattva-sandarbha*, “*kvacit teṣāṃ evānyatra-dṛṣṭa-vyākhyānusāreṇa*,” “In some places, I will follow Śrīdhara Svāmī's explanations found elsewhere” (27). Elkman thinks that this probably refers to Śrīdhara's commentary on *Bhāgavata* verses other than those cited by Jīva in the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* (1986: 120). It is more likely, however, that the reference is to Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, which Jīva quotes several times in the *Sandarbhās*. This gives a fuller sense to the word “*anyatra-dṛṣṭa*.”

[bhāṣya], will be written in accordance with the views of the great Vaiṣṇava, the revered Śrīdhara Svāmī, only when they conform to the strict Vaiṣṇava standpoint, since his writings are interspersed with the doctrines of Advaita so that an appreciation for the greatness of bhagavat may be awakened in the Advaitins who nowadays pervade the central regions etc.

(Elkman 1986: 119)<sup>4</sup>

The last sentence epitomizes the enigma that is Śrīdhara Svāmī. Although a renunciate of a Śāṅkarite order, he was (and is) revered by Vaiṣṇavas as commentator *par excellence* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. So great was Śrīdhara's influence that his commentary became the measuring stick for those that followed him, and his interpretations became virtually synonymous with the meaning of the *Purāṇa*. As one traditional saying goes, "Vyāsa knows, Śuka knows, the King (Parīkṣit) may or may not know. But Śrīdhara knows everything by the blessings of Narasimha."<sup>5</sup> Of all the followers of the *Bhāgavata*, perhaps the ones that hold Śrīdhara in the highest esteem are Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas. In the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja reveals Caitanya's great loyalty to Śrīdhara by his description of the encounter between Caitanya and a Vaiṣṇava named Vallabha Bhaṭṭa:

The next day Vallabha Bhaṭṭa came and sat down in the assembly. After paying his respects to the Lord, he said something with pride. "In my commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, I have refuted the explanations of Śrīdhara Svāmī. I cannot accept his explanations. He does his explanation by accepting whatever he reads wherever he reads it. There is no consistency, and therefore I do not accept him as the master (*svāmī*)."

<sup>4</sup> tad evaṁ parama-niḥśreyasa-niścayāya śrī-bhāgavatam eva paurvāparyāvirodhena vicāryate. tatrasmin sandarbha-ṣatkātmake granthe sūtra-sthānīyam avatārikā-vākyam viṣaya-vākyam śrī-bhāgavata-vākyam. bhāṣya-rūpā tad-vyākhyā tu samprati madhya-deśādau vyāptān advaita-vādinō nūnam bhagavan-mahimānam avagāhayitum tad-vādena karvurita-lipīnām parama-vaiṣṇavānām śrīdhara-svāmī-caraṇānām śuddha-vaiṣṇav-asiddhāntānugatā cet tarhi yathāvad eva vilikhyate.

(*Tattva-sandarbha* 27)

<sup>5</sup> Śrīdhara was an ardent devotee of the man-lion Lord, as evidenced by the fact that he concludes his commentary on many chapters of the *Bhāgavata* with a verse saluting Narasimha.



The Lord smiled and said, “One who does not accept her husband (*svāmī*), I consider a prostitute.” Saying this, Mahāprabhu became silent. Hearing his words, everyone was satisfied.<sup>6</sup>

Vallabha Bhaṭṭa’s pride was crushed, and the next day he returned to the Lord in humility and begged forgiveness. Mahāprabhu advised him as follows:

You criticize Śrīdhara Svāmī and write your own commentary. You do not accept Śrīdhara Svāmī—this is your pride. I understand the *Bhāgavata* by the grace of Śrīdhara Svāmī. Śrīdhara Svāmī is the teacher of the entire world. I regard him as my teacher. Whatever you write out of pride, overstepping Śrīdhara, that writing will have confused meanings, and people will not accept it. One who writes following Śrīdhara will be honored and accepted by all people. Comment on the *Bhāgavata* following Śrīdhara! Give up your pride and worship Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa!”<sup>7</sup>

Śrīdhara Svāmī’s Advaitin affiliation was apparently not a problem for Caitanya, who was himself initiated into a Śāṅkarite order of renunciates. Jīva Gosvāmī says in the *Tattva-sandarbhā* (27) that Śrīdhara was a pure Vaiṣṇava who mixed in Advaita ideas only for the benefit of members of his school. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa adds in his commentary that Śrīdhara was a Vaiṣṇava

<sup>6</sup> āra dina āśi’ vasilā prabhure namaskari’  
sabhāte kahena kichu mane garva kari’  
“bhāgavate svāmīra vyākhyāna kairāchi khaṇḍana  
laite nā pāri tāra vyākhyāna-vacana  
sei vyākhyā karena yāhāñ yei paḍe āni’  
ekavākyatā nāhi, tāte ‘svāmī’ nāhi māni”  
prabhu hāsi’ kahe,—“svāmī nā māne yei jana  
veśyāra bhitare tāre kariye gaṇana”  
eta kahi’ mahāprabhu mauna dharilā  
śuniyā sabāra mane santoṣa hailā.  
(3.112–116)

<sup>7</sup> śrīdhara-svāmī nindī’ nija-jīkā kara  
śrīdhara-svāmī nāhi māna’, eta ‘garva’ dhara  
śrīdhara-svāmī-prasāde ‘bhāgavata’ jāni  
jagad-guru śrīdhara-svāmī ‘guru’ kari’ māni  
śrīdharera anugata ye kare likhana  
saba loka mānya kari’ karibe grahaṇa  
śrīdharānugata kara bhāgavata-vyākhyāna  
abhimāna chāḍi’ bhaja kṛṣṇa bhagavān.

because his commentaries contain remarks to the effect that the form, attributes, manifestations, and abodes of bhagavat are eternal, as are the bodies of his attendants, and that the devotees of bhagavat belong to the highest class and are headed towards liberation.

The Advaitic statements of Śrīdhara, Baladeva argues, are like "the meat on the end of a hook, meant to lure fish" (Elkman 1986: 119–120).

While a detailed investigation of Śrīdhara's theological standpoint is beyond the scope of this book,<sup>8</sup> we may at least note the fact that his views stand far removed from the radical non-dualism of Śaṅkara. Friedhelm Hardy has conjectured that Śrīdhara was an early (and influential) example of a brand of devotional Advaita that included such devotees as Mādhavendra Purī, Viṣṇu Purī (author of the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī*), and later, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (1974: 33). Their emphasis on *bhakti* and lack of emphasis on Śaṅkara's doctrine of illusion suggest, according to Daniel Sheridan, "that the Advaita tradition in the Maṭhas had become very broad, if not attenuated, in the fourteenth century's turn toward *bhakti*" (1994: 48–49). From a close analysis of Śrīdhara's commentary on the first verse and four main verses of the *Bhāgavata*, Sheridan concludes that Śrīdhara taught a "theistic non-dualism of sorts," (ibid.: 57) not so different from the *Bhāgavata*'s own *bhedābheda* standpoint (ibid.: 54). While Śrīdhara employs the categories and hermeneutical tools of Advaita Vedānta (such as the notion of essential and accidental characteristics), he does not use them to defend Śaṅkara's radical nondualism. "Śrīdhara . . . has moved, at least in this immediate context, toward a non-dualism of a realistic Sāṃkhya type, otherwise called 'qualified nondualism'" (ibid.: 64). This move, Sheridan argues, brings him "halfway to the metaphysical nuances of *acintya-bhedābheda*" (ibid.: 58).

Perhaps the clearest evidence of Śrīdhara's shift lies in his avoidance of the concept of *māyā* (the illusory power that comprises this world) as delineated

<sup>8</sup> Given Śrīdhara's influential place in medieval Hinduism, especially in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇic tradition, a close investigation of his views would fill serious gaps in our knowledge of the period. Daniel Sheridan identifies four possible areas of investigation:

(1) a study of the relationship of Śrīdhara to Madhva and of the later Madhva school to Śrīdhara, (2) a study of the relationship of Śrīdhara to the earlier Advaitins, such as Citsukha and Puṇyāranya, and of Śrīdhara's relationship to later Advaitins, such as Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, (3) a study of the relationship of Śrīdhara to the Bengal Vaiṣṇava school, and (4) an internal study of Śrīdhara's comments on the *bhakti* passages of the *Bhāgavata* and of its discursive passages on Sāṃkhya.

(1994: 65–66)

It is hoped that the present study will make a beginning on the third project.

in Advaita Vedānta. For Śrīdhara, *māyā* does not consist of ignorance (*avidyā*) that results from the superimposition (*adhyāsa*) of the world on Brahman. Instead, it is the veiling, multi-faceted *śakti* of the Supreme Lord, understood in terms similar to *māyā* in theistic Vaiṣṇavism. In his commentary on the *Bhāgavata*'s first verse, Śrīdhara Svāmī fails to make any mention of the concepts of superimposition, confusion (*bhrama*), or ignorance, despite ample opportunities to do so. The word "*nirasta-kuhakam*" is glossed simply as "*nirastam kuhakam kapaṭam māyālakṣaṇam yasminis tam*"—"him in whom the deceit that is characteristic of *māyā* is destroyed." Even the line "*tejo-vāri-mṛdām . . .*" which Jīva Gosvāmī himself recognizes as having potential for an Advaita interpretation,<sup>9</sup> is let off quite gently by Śrīdhara. He interprets *vinimaya* as *vyatyaya*, the false appearance of one element in another, like a mirage seen on a hot surface, water seen in glass, and glass appearing like water. Although these examples are typically Advaitic in nature, Śrīdhara does not take the opportunity to develop a theory of error. This is especially significant given the fact that Śaṅkara's *Brahma-sūtra* commentary begins straight away with a theory of super-imposition. For Śrīdhara, the essential point here is that despite appearances, the world finds its basis in the true reality of Brahman, who has the power to dispel all confusion.

We find another example of Śrīdhara's reticence in regard to *māyā* in his commentary on the second verse of the four-verse *Bhāgavata*. Sheridan translates the verse and commentary as follows:

What is manifest without a basis and is not manifest in the Self, know that to be the *māyā* of the Self, like an appearance, like a shadow.

[Śrīdhara's commentary:] This defines *māyā* since it was mentioned subsequently and since the linking of *māyā* and Self follows *māyā*. "Without basis" means without a substantial basis. For this reason, what is implicit in the substratum of the Self appears real "and also does not appear," know that to be the *māyā* of the Self. "Like an appearance" means the two moons etc. which are not distinguished in perception. "Like a shadow" means the non-recognition of

<sup>9</sup> kiṁ ca tejo-vāri-mṛdām ity anenaiva teṣāṁ vivakṣitaṁ setsyatīti janmādy asya yata ity aprayojakaṁ syāt.

Moreover, (the Māyāvādīs think that) their doctrine will be proven by the phrase *tejo-vāri-mṛdām*. (But if we accept their view.) *janmādy asya yataḥ* becomes pointless.

(*Paramātma-sandarbhā* 105)

something that is. The shadow is Rāhu which remains in the realm of the planets, even if it is not seen.

(1994: 59–60)<sup>10</sup>

As in his explanation of the *Bhāgavata*'s first verse, Śrīdhara here is satisfied to describe *māyā* simply in terms of false appearances, using examples found in the verse itself. Also as in the first verse, he is primarily interested in the fact that the world of appearances has a real basis in the reality of Brahman. As such, he makes no attempt to go beyond the text of the *Bhāgavata* to articulate a theory of ignorance in Advaitic terms.

Indeed, Śrīdhara was perhaps closer to the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava view of *śakti* than he was to Advaitic concepts of *māyā*. A more positive articulation of Śrīdhara Svāmī's views on *māyā* can be found in his commentary on verse 1.7.6 of the *Bhāgavata*. This verse appears in a description of Vyāsa's state of trance before he composed the *Purāṇa*, which, we have seen, is one of Jīva's main loci for finding the overall meaning of the *Bhāgavata*. As such, Jīva discusses this verse at length in the *Tattva-sandarbha* (from section 32 to 45). He sees in it the possibility of nondualist interpretation and so takes the opportunity to argue against the Advaita ideas of *māyā*, ignorance (*avidyā*), and limitation (*upādhi*). Yet Śrīdhara's commentary on this verse is remarkably simple, positive, and free of heavyweight Advaita terminology:

The learned (Vyāsa) composed the *sātvata-saṁhitā* [*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*] for people who do not know *bhakti-yoga* for Adhokṣaja, which directly removes unwanted things.

[Śrīdhara's commentary] This is stated: The Lord, who possesses all *śaktis*, who knows everything, who has an eternally manifest, supremely blissful form (*svarūpa*), controls *māyā* by his knowledge-*śakti*. The living entity, whose true form is unmanifest, and who (instead) possesses qualities just opposite to it, is bewildered by his (the Lord's) *māyā*. The living entity is liberated through knowledge

<sup>10</sup> *Bhāgavata* 2.9.33:

ṛte 'rthaṁ yat pratīyeta na pratīyeta cātmani  
tad vidyād ātmano māyāṁ yathābhaso yathā tamaḥ

*Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*: yathāātma-māyā-yogenety anena māyāyā api prṣṭatvād vakṣyamānopayogitvāc ca māyāṁ nirūpayati. ṛte arthaṁ vināpi vāstavam arthaṁ yad yataḥ kim apy aniruktam ātmany adhiṣṭhāne pratīyeta sad api ca na pratīyeta tat ātmano mama māyāṁ vidyāt. yathā ābhāso dvi-candrādir ity arthaṁ vinā pratītau dṛṣṭantaḥ. yathā tama iti sato 'pratītau. tamo rāhur yathā graham-maṇḍale sthito 'pi na dṛśyate tathā.



that is obtained by bhakti to the Lord. That is stated by Viṣṇusvāmī, "The Lord, who is eternal, cognizant and blissful, is embraced by knowledge (*saṁvīt*) and the energy of bliss. The living entity is covered by his own ignorance and is pained by masses of suffering." So also, "He who controls *māyā* is the Lord, and he who is pained by her is the living entity. We praise this Man-lion Lord, who continually enjoys with his own *māyā*. He possesses transcendental bliss that is manifested from himself, and from him the world of great suffering is manifested. He is unsullied by the fear born from the differences of the world, which has arisen from his own glance." And so on.<sup>11</sup>

Here we find nearly all the elements of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava concept of Bhagavān's *śakti*. The Lord is the possessor of all energies and his form is not temporary or material, but a manifestation of his personal *śakti*, with which he forever enjoys. He does, however, remain aloof from the external energy, which comprises the world of *māyā*. As a transformation of the Lord's *śakti*, *māyā* is not false or illusory in itself, but only in its effect on the hapless living entity. Its influence can be annulled by devotion to Bhagavān.

Although Śrīdhara Svāmī does not partition Bhagavān's *śakti* into three types, clearly all the elements necessary for the development of a more systematic theory are present above. Furthermore, the verse from Viṣṇusvāmī provides the basis for a further division of the internal energy into three parts. The only element of the *śakti* concept that is missing—indeed, conspicuous by its absence—is inconceivability (*acintya*). The strong emphasis on the inconceivable nature of Bhagavān's energies seems to be a distinctly Caitanya Vaiṣṇava proclivity, arising from a desire to preserve Bhagavān's transcendence. We may thus confirm Sheridan's assessment of Śrīdhara as "halfway to the metaphysical nuances of *acintya-bhedābheda*" (1994: 58).

A much more comprehensive and in-depth study of Śrīdhara's commentaries would be required to reach any broad conclusions about his views. Whatever the outcome of such a study might be, however, it is clear that he cannot be simplistically aligned with, or assigned to, Advaita Vedānta, as

<sup>11</sup> anarthopaśamaṁ sākṣād bhakti-yogam adhokṣaje  
lokasyājānato vidvāṁś cakre sātva-ta-saṁhitām  
*Bhāvartha-dīpikā*: etad uktaṁ bhavati—vidyā-śaktyā māyā-niyantā nityāvirbhūta-  
paramānanda-svarūpaḥ sarva-jñāḥ sarva-śaktir īśvaras tan-māyayā saṁmohitas  
tirobhūta-svarūpas tad-viparīta-dharmā jīvas tasya cēśvara-bhaktiyā labdha-jñānena  
mokṣa iti. tad uktaṁ viṣṇu-svāmin—hlādinīyā saṁvid-āśīṣṭaḥ sac-cid-ānanda  
īśvaraḥ. svāvidyā-saṁvṛto jīvaḥ saṁkleśa-nikarākaraḥ. tathā—sā īśo yad-vaśe māyā  
sa jīvo yas tayārditaḥ. svāvirbhūta-parānandaḥ svāvirbhūta-suduḥkha-bhūḥ.  
svādīg-utthaviparyāsa-bhava-bhedaja-bhī-śucaḥ. man-māyayā juṣaṇn āste tam  
imaṁ nṛ-hariṁ numāḥ. ity ādi.

Stuart Elkman does in his study of the *Tattva-sandarbha*. Elkman makes strong claims about Jīva's use of Śrīdhara Svāmī that are based on a mistaken understanding of both authors:

When we examine the contents of this work [*Tattva-sandarbha*], however, it becomes clear that Jīva was not nearly as happy with Śrīdhara's commentary as was Caitanya, and it seems likely that Jīva's claims to follow Śrīdhara represent more a concession to Caitanya's beliefs than a personal preference on his own part. In actual fact, Jīva follows Śrīdhara on only the most minor points, ignoring all of his Advaitic interpretations on the plea that they are "non-Vaiṣṇava" and were meant merely to entice the Advaitins to study the Bhāgavata. As we have seen in T. S. [*Tattva-sandarbha*] 60, Jīva even goes so far as to quote portions of Śrīdhara's commentary only to refute his interpretation in subsequent paragraphs. Jīva's claim to follow the natural sense of the Bhāgavata in such cases is also not justified since he often resorts to unlikely interpretations of terms or analyses of compounds to establish his own views. . . .

Thus, considering the harsh criticism which Caitanya leveled against Vallabha for contradicting Śrīdhara's commentary and interpreting the Bhāgavata from his own point of view, one may legitimately wonder whether Caitanya would have been any more pleased with Jīva's nominal regard for Śrīdhara and his original interpretations of the Bhāgavata.

(Elkman 1986: 180–181)

The polarization of Caitanya and Śrīdhara on one side and Jīva Gosvāmī on the other is derived from Sushil Kumar De, the author of *Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal*. De writes:

It is our impression that Caitanya could not have been such an anti-Śaṅkara as depicted by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. The Kavirāja, however, is careless enough to give us a rough idea as to what Caitanya's metaphysics could possibly have been when he makes Caitanya ridicule Vallabha Bhaṭṭa for differing from Śrīdhara's commentary on the Bhāgavata, and says that Śrīdhara was "Jagad-guru."

(1986: 151)

Since the Gosvāmīs' writings were the most important source of theological material for Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Elkman simply extends De's polarity by replacing Kṛṣṇadāsa with Jīva Gosvāmī and placing him against Śrīdhara and Caitanya.

Both De's and Elkman's polarities are based on the assumption that Caitanya's fondness for Śrīdhara is indicative of his Advaitic inclinations,

and therefore Jīva's polemic against Advaita is a sure sign of Jīva's disregard for Śrīdhara (and therefore also Caitanya). This assumption does not hold on several counts. First, there is nothing to suggest that Caitanya preferred Śrīdhara because of the latter's Advaitic affiliation. His preference may just as well have been a result of appreciation for Śrīdhara's deep devotion<sup>12</sup> or his *bhedābheda* theology, which, we have argued, is a more accurate characterization of Śrīdhara's views than is pure Advaita. Second, Jīva pays much more than just lip service to Śrīdhara. If the frequency and

<sup>12</sup> Indeed, there is evidence that at least the Gosvāmīs appreciated Śrīdhara for reasons other than his Vedāntic viewpoint. See, for example, Śrīdhara's commentary on *Bhāgavata* 10.43.17, where we find the seeds of a *bhakti-rasa* theory centered on Kṛṣṇa. The verse describes the different ways in which Kṛṣṇa was perceived when he entered Kāṁsa's wrestling arena in Mathurā:

mallānām aśanir nṛṇām nara-varaḥ strīṇām smaro mūrtimān  
gopānām sva-jano 'satām kṣīti-bhujām śāstā sva-pitroḥ śīṣuḥ  
mṛtyur bhoja-pater virāḍ aviduṣām tattvaṁ paraṁ yoginām  
vṛṣṇīnām para-devateti vidito raṅgaṁ gataḥ sāgrajaḥ

Kṛṣṇa, who entered the arena with his elder brother, was regarded by the wrestlers as a lightning bolt, by the men (in the assembly) as the best among men, by women as Cupid personified, by the cowherds as their relative, by the impious kings as the giver of punishment, by his parents as a child, by the King of the Bhojas (Kāṁsa) as death, by the ignorant as the Universal Form, by the yogīs as the Supreme Truth, and by the Vṛṣṇīs as the supreme Deity.

In his *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, Śrīdhara Svāmī immediately introduces the concept of *rasa*:

tatra śṛṅgārādi-sarva-rasa-kadamba-mūrtir bhagavāṁs tat-tad-abhiprāyānusāreṇa  
babhau, na sākalyena surveṣāṁ ity āha mallānām itī. mallādīnām ajñānām  
draṣṭṛṇām aśany-ādi-rūpeṇa daśadhā viditaḥ san sāgrajo raṅgaṁ gata ity anvayaḥ.  
malladibhivyaktā rasāḥ krameṇa ślokena nibadhyante—raudro 'dbhutaś ca śṛṅgāro  
hāsyam vīro dayā tathā. bhayānakaś ca bībhatsaḥ śāntaḥ saprema bhaktikaḥ.

Bhagavān, who is the embodiment of the multitude of all *rasas* beginning with amorous love, appeared in accordance with the wishes of each person there, and not in his fullness to everyone. This is stated by the verse. The syntactical order of the words in the verse is thus: He (Kṛṣṇa), along with his elder brother, was known in ten ways, in the form of lightening, etc., by the wrestlers and other ignorant members of the audience. The *rasas* which were manifest in the wrestlers, etc., are delineated in order by this verse, "(The *rasas* are) wrath, wonder, amorous love, mirth, heroism, compassion, terror, disgust, tranquility, and devotion (*bhakti*) imbued with love (*prema*)."

It is significant that Śrīdhara Svāmī includes *bhakti* in the list of *rasas*. Sanātana Gosvāmī, in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary, immediately focuses on this *rasa* classification of the audience. He explains why each person possesses the *rasa* assigned to them and which *sthyāyī-bhāvas* corresponded to their experience.

centrality of quotations from the *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* are any indication, then Jīva's involvement with Śrīdhara is far more than a mere "concession to Caitanya's beliefs" (Elkman 1986: 180). Indeed, if we accept a more balanced view of Śrīdhara's theological position, we can see how Jīva could have argued against Advaita and at the same time given a significant place to Śrīdhara in his writings.

### *Svāmī and Gosvāmī*

The relationship between Jīva and Śrīdhara is neither superficial nor one-dimensional, and certainly worthy of a closer look. From the *Catuhṣūtrī Tīkā*, as well as from other portions of the *Sandarbhā*s, it is clear that Jīva follows—indeed, reiterates—Śrīdhara's interpretation of *Bhāgavata* verses in almost every instance. The overall structure of Jīva's commentary on the *Bhāgavata*'s first verse is based on the categories of essential and accidental characteristics introduced by Śrīdhara. Yet it is also clear that Jīva's purpose is not simply to rehearse Śrīdhara's views or even write a sub-commentary upon them. Jīva Gosvāmī is constructing a systematic theological edifice for which he must always keep the overall blueprint in mind. Śrīdhara supplies many of the important building blocks, but Jīva must assemble them into a stable structure. This assembly process is to be expected, for Śrīdhara's primary concern is to clarify the verses at hand, whereas a *sandarbhā* has a second-order purpose, namely to weave the verses themselves into a coherent theological system.

A good example of Jīva's use of Śrīdhara can be found at the very end of the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, where he discusses the sixth indicator of meaning (*tātparya-liṅga*), using a verse from the second book of the *Bhāgavata*: "By physical objects [*dṛśyair*] such as the intelligence, by his own self [*svātmanā*], by characteristics [*lakṣaṇair*], and by arguments that lead one to make inferences [*anumāpakair*], Bhagavān Hari is perceived in all beings as the seer."<sup>13</sup>

As we will see in the next chapter, Jīva gives a relatively lengthy explanation of this verse, using a series of logical inferences to demonstrate the existence of the living entity (*jīva*), the inner controller (*antaryāmī*), and Bhagavān. The existence of each entity is deduced from the previous one: Bhagavān from the *antaryāmī*, the *antaryāmī* from the living entity, and the living entity from physical objects. Jīva Gosvāmī follows Śrīdhara Svāmī quite closely in the structure and language of his argument. Śrīdhara writes:

<sup>13</sup> bhagavān sarva-bhūteṣu lakṣitaḥ svātmanā hariḥ  
dṛśyair buddhyādibhir draṣṭā lakṣaṇair anumāpakair  
(*Bhāgavata* 2.2.35)



Bhagavān is seen [*lakṣitaḥ*]. How? By his own self [*svātmanā*], that is, by being the inner controller [*antaryāmī*] who is a conscious entity [*kṣetrajña*]. By what means (is he seen)? Physical objects such as the intelligence demonstrate this in two ways: (1) by the characteristics [*lakṣaṇaiḥ*] which point to (the existence of a) self-luminous antaryāmī. This is shown by untenability [*anupapatti*]: “without the self-luminous seer, it is not possible for the inert physical objects to see.” And (2) by arguments that lead to inferences [*anumāpakaiḥ*]. This is shown by the invariable concomitance [*vyāpti*]: “the intelligence, etc., are dependent upon an agent, because they are instruments, just like an axe, etc.” And the independent person (is shown) by the (existence of the) agent—thus, Īśvara is established.<sup>14</sup>

Śrīdhara Svāmī first points out the basic question being addressed by Śukadeva in this verse: “How can one know Bhagavān?” The answer is simple: by understanding his presence in all living entities as the inner controller (*antaryāmī*). But how can one know the *antaryāmī*? We can infer his existence from the nature of physical objects, using the logical tools of untenability (*anupapatti*) and invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*). Thus, Śrīdhara arrives at the existence of Bhagavān in one step: physical objects point to the existence of the inner controller, who is none other than Bhagavān.

Jīva Gosvāmī remains consistent with Śrīdhara’s explanation, but fills out his reasoning to bring out Caitanyite ontology more clearly. In particular, Jīva inserts two more steps into the argument—the individual living entity, *jīva*, is inserted between the physical objects and the *antaryāmī*, and Bhagavān is added as a distinct reality beyond the *antaryāmī*. The first insertion is required in order to clarify the difference between the individual self and the Supreme Self, *antaryāmī*. Both are conscious entities (*kṣetrajña*), but the conscious power of the former is dependent upon the latter. As it is, Śrīdhara remains uncommitted on the question, so Jīva Gosvāmī chooses to bring out the distinction. In effect, he adds another “how?” to Śrīdhara’s reasoning. How do physical objects reveal the *antaryāmī*?—by the existence (or presence) of the individual *jīva*:

The meaning is this: first, by (understanding the nature of) all the (individual) seers, the inner controller is understood. . . . For instance,

<sup>14</sup> bhagavān lakṣito dṛṣṭaḥ. katham. svātmanā kṣetrajñāntaryāmitayā. kaiḥ. dṛṣyair buddhyādibhiḥ. tad eva dvedhā darśayati. dṛṣyānāṃ janānāṃ darśanaṃ sva-prakāśaṃ draṣṭāraṇi vinā na ghaṭata ity anupapatti-mukhena lakṣaṇaiḥ sva-prakāśāntaryāmi-lakṣakaiḥ. tathā buddhyādīni kartṛ-prayojyāni karaṇatvāt vāsyādivan iti vyāpti-mukhenānumāpakaiḥ. sva-tantraś ca kartṛtvy evam īśvara-siddhiḥ.

the *antaryāmī* is understood by this untenability [*anupapatti*]: "Because one can see that the *jīvas* are not independent agents or enjoyers, and because *karma*, or activity, is also inert, therefore the living entities' inclination for being the agent or enjoyer cannot take place without a particular, inner instigator." This inner controller [*antaryāmī*] causes the self to see through the eye, hear through ear, think through the mind, and to understand through the intellect.

By introducing the living entity into the argument for Bhagavān's existence, Jīva Gosvāmī further deepens the discussion by accounting for another, concomitant element of the phenomenal world, namely, activity (*karma*). The impetus for activity cannot be located in the living entity or in the activity itself, since the former is not independent and the latter is not conscious. Thus, the existence of the *antaryāmī* must be inferred.

The second insertion is even more significant than the first. As mentioned earlier, the overall purpose of *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*'s section 105 (which includes the *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā*) is to show that Bhagavān is the primary import of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* using the six indicators of meaning. On a basic level, this is not difficult to do with the above *Bhāgavata* verse (which is the sixth indicator), since the verse mentions Bhagavān Hari (Kṛṣṇa) by name. Still, we must remember that Jīva wants to establish Bhagavān in the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava sense of the term—as the highest of the three-fold Godhead, full of divine attributes, and the possessor of unlimited, inconceivable energies. The inner controller or super-soul (*paramātmā*), as he is often called in Gauḍīya literature, is the second member of the threefold Godhead, and is but a portion (*aṁśa*) of Bhagavān. Bhagavān manifests as the *antaryāmī* in order to facilitate the affairs of the living entities, for Bhagavān himself is beyond any direct connection with the world of *māyā*. Thus, it is important for Jīva Gosvāmī to draw a clear distinction between the *antaryāmī* and Bhagavān in his explanation of the *Bhāgavata* verse. He therefore glosses the word "*svātmanā*" in the verse as "*svāmṣa-rūpeṇāntaryāmiṇā*," "by the *antaryāmī* who is his own portion." Śrīdhara Svāmī, on the other hand, glosses it as "*kṣetrajñāntaryāmitayā*," which can be read either as a descriptive compound (*karmadhāraya-samāsa*), "by being the inner controller, the knower of the field," or as a genitive-case compound (*śaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa*), "by being the inner controller of the knower of the field (i.e., the *jīva*)." In either case, Śrīdhara is happy to leave the exact relationship between Bhagavān and the *antaryāmī* unspecified. Surely, there is some difference between the two, for the verse names the latter as the means of knowing the former. But while Śrīdhara can again afford to remain uncommitted on the nature of that difference, Jīva must be more specific:

Now, Bhagavān is understood through his portion *antaryāmī*, by this untenability [*anupapatti*]: “So as to account for his being the inner controller *and* the supreme ruler, if someone superior enters the *jīvas* with *all* his portions, then he would not be the Lord [Īśvara], because of the absence of completeness.” Therefore, (it is said) in the Śrī Gītāopaniṣad, “Of what use will all this knowledge be to you, O Arjuna? With a single portion, I support this entire universe.”<sup>15</sup> And in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, “the creation is permeated by a particle of his own energy.” . . . Once again, this argument also establishes Bhagavān: “The not-very-influential *jīva*’s inner controller is the Lord [Īśvara], and he is dependent upon his own source. This is also due to completeness, just like the lordship of one who employs woodcutters and other laborers is (ultimately) dependent on the lordship of the king.”

Here we find Jīva Gosvāmī repeatedly emphasizing the completeness and transcendence of Bhagavān, in contrast to the partiality and worldly involvement of the *antaryāmī*. If the Lord were to enter the *jīva* in his completeness, that is, with all his portions and energies, he would exhaust himself in the creation, and no longer be the transcendent ruler. This makes the *antaryāmī* only a secondary controller, like one who employs workers on behalf of the king.

From our analysis of their commentaries on *Bhāgavata* 2.2.35, it appears that the relationship between Jīva Gosvāmī and Śrīdhara Svāmī is this: Jīva incorporates nearly all the elements of Śrīdhara’s commentary in his own explanation, but he does not do so in a simplistic fashion. Rather, he fills out Śrīdhara’s reasoning by inserting new ontological categories and specifying the relationships between them. In doing so, Jīva raises straightforward exegesis of limited scope to the level of systematic reasoning that is an integral part of a comprehensive theological system. This will become clearer in the next chapter.

Indeed, a very similar dynamic is at work in section 60 of the *Tattva-sandarbhā*, the passage that Stuart Elkman singles out as an example of Jīva’s scant regard for Śrīdhara. Although Elkman believes that Jīva is openly refuting Śrīdhara, the section actually reveals a much more nuanced relationship between the two authors, not unlike what we have seen above. The *Bhāgavata* verse in question there is text nine of Chapter 10 of the second book. For context, the previous verse is quoted here as well:

This *adhyātmika* puruṣa is verily that *adhidaivika* puruṣa. He who divides the two is the *adhibhautika* puruṣa. We do not perceive one

<sup>15</sup> Gītā 10.42.

in the absence of the other. Then, he who knows all three is the *ātmā*, the *svāśrayāśraya*.<sup>16</sup>

The locus of commentarial discussion is the final quarter of the second verse, “*sa ātmā svāśrayāśrayaḥ*.” Śrīdhara Svāmī explains the phrase as follows:

The second of these two verses reveals the fact that none of these (three *puruṣas*) can be considered the *āśraya* [shelter], since they are all mutually dependent. . . . Then, he who “knows” these three, i.e., perceives them as the witness through a reflective cognition, he, i.e., *paramātmān* [supersoul], is the *āśraya*. The qualifier *svāśraya*, i.e., “having no *āśraya* other than itself”, is meant to distinguish *paramātmān* from the other three, which also function as *āśrayas*, each being the *āśraya* for the others. And (in addition to being its own *āśraya*), the *paramātmān* is also the *āśraya* for the others.

(Elkman 1986: 167)<sup>17</sup>

In other words, Śrīdhara takes the word “*ātmā*” as referring to the super-soul (*Paramātmā*), and then interprets *svāśrayāśraya* as a descriptive compound (*karmadhāraya samāsa*) describing him: “the shelter (of others) who is his own (sole) shelter.” Jīva quotes the above section of Śrīdhara’s commentary verbatim, but then immediately says,

The verse uses the word “*āśraya*” only due to accepting the partial nondifference between the part and the whole, namely, the living

<sup>16</sup> yo 'dhyātmiko 'yaṁ puruṣaḥ so 'sāv evādhidaivikaḥ  
yas tatrobhaya-vicchedaḥ puruṣo hy ādhibhautikaḥ  
ekam ekatārābhāve yadā nopalabhāmahe  
tritayaṁ tatra yo veda sa ātmā svāśrayāśrayaḥ

Jīva Gosvāmī introduces these verses as follows, “In order to clearly demonstrate the nature of the *āśraya* [ultimate shelter] during the period of maintenance, from the *vyāṣṭi* point of view as well, that is, in terms of one’s own immediate experience, Śuka explains the distinction between the categories, *adhyātmā* etc., in the following two verses” (Elkman 1986: 165). The *adhyātmika puruṣa* is the living entity who identifies himself with the senses, such as the eyes and ears. The *adhidaivika puruṣa* is the presiding deity of each sense, like the sun-god for the eyes. And the *adhibhautika puruṣa* is the visible body, in which the other two rest and on account of which they assume their respective roles.

<sup>17</sup> ekam ekatārābhāva ity eṣāṁ anyonya-sāpekṣa-siddhatvenānāśrayatvaṁ darśayati.  
. . . tatra tadā tat tritayam ālocanātmakena pratyayena yo veda sākṣitayā paśyati  
sa paramātmā āśrayaḥ. teṣāṁ api paraspāram āśrayatvam astīti tad-vyavacchedār-  
thaṁ viśeṣaṇaṁ svāśrayo 'nanyāśrayaḥ. sa cāsāv anyeṣāṁ āśrayaś ceti.

(quoted in *Tattva-sandarbhā* 60)



entity (*jīva*) and Paramātmā. . . . Therefore, there should be no doubt that the pure *jīva*, who is known as the witness, is the *āśraya*.<sup>18</sup>

Although this appears to be a direct contradiction of Śrīdhara's interpretation, in reality it is an attempt to find a way of agreeing with Śrīdhara, despite the Advaitic implications of his view. As Elkman has pointed out, to say (as Śrīdhara does) "that paramātmā directly functions as the witness of the mind and senses is tantamount to admitting the identity of the *jīva* and paramātmā" (1986: 168). This, of course, is not acceptable to a Vaiṣṇava, and so Jīva Gosvāmī tries to reach a compromise by harnessing the Caitanyite theology of simultaneous difference and nondifference (*bhedābheda*). The Paramātmā is the shelter (*āśraya*) of the body, senses and presiding deities through the living entity, in so far as the living entity is nondifferent from him. As we saw in our discussion of Caitanya Vaiṣṇava hermeneutics, the simultaneous identity and difference between a part and the whole, or between the energy and the energetic, becomes the basis for the useful technique of "passing the referent" in order to make sense of scriptural passages. Here, Jīva passes the referent from the Paramātmā to the *jīva*, allowing him to support Śrīdhara's interpretation of the word "*ātmā*" as "*paramātmā*" and at the same time not fall into a nondualistic viewpoint.

Still, Jīva Gosvāmī is not fully satisfied with this approach, and immediately offers an alternate explanation:

This ātman is the *jīva* witness. But he who represents his own *āśraya* [shelter], i.e., has no *āśraya* other than himself, is paramātmā. It is he who is the *āśraya* for the witnessing *jīva*. As stated in the Haṁsaguhya-stava, "Man knows all, including the *guṇas*; but knowing all that, he still does not know the all-knowing, infinite [paramātmā]. My salutations to that [paramātmā]" (Bh.P. 6/4/25). Therefore, the paramātmā alone is declared to be the *āśraya* in the Bhāgavata verse<sup>19</sup> which defines the term (Bh.P. 2/10/7).<sup>20</sup>  
(Elkman 1986: 168)

<sup>18</sup> tatrātmāśāśinoḥ śuddha-jīva-paramātmānor abhedāśā-svīkāreṇaivāśraya uktaḥ.  
. . . sākṣi-saṁjñīnaḥ śuddha-jīva-syāśrayatvaṁ na śaṅkaṇīyam.

The translation is my own, since I find Elkman's unsatisfactory here.

<sup>19</sup> The verse says, "That is the *āśraya*, from which come the origin and dissolution of the universe, and by virtue of which it is perceived; it is designated the supreme brahman and paramātmā" (Elkman 1986: 164, quoted in *Tattva-sandarbhā* 58).

<sup>20</sup> sa ātmā sākṣī jīvas tu yaḥ svāśrayo 'nanyāśrayaḥ paramātmā sa evāśrayo yasya tathābhūta iti. vakṣyate ca haṁsa-guḥya-stave sarvaṁ pumān veda guṇāś ca taj-jñō na veda sarvajñam anantam īde iti. tasmāt ābhāsaś ca ityādinoktaḥ paramātmāivāśraya iti.  
(*Tattva-sandarbhā* 60)

In this explanation of the line “*sa ātmā svāśrayāśrayaḥ*,” Jīva Gosvāmī directly identifies the *ātmā* with the *jīva* and interprets *svāśrayāśrayaḥ* as a possessive compound (*bahuvrīhi-samāsa*) referring to the *jīva*: “he who has the *svāśraya* as his shelter (*āśraya*).” The *svāśraya*, of course, is the Paramātmā.<sup>21</sup> Although Jīva diverges from Śrīdhara in this alternate interpretation of *svāśrayāśraya*, the end result is much the same as in the first interpretation. The *jīva* is the immediate shelter and witness of the three *puruṣas*. His shelter is the *Paramātmā*, who is the ultimate shelter, and who has no shelter other than himself. Thus, even in his second interpretation, Jīva Gosvāmī incorporates the main themes of Śrīdhara’s commentary, and reaches the same conclusions regarding Paramātmā.

Thus, we see that Śrīdhara Svāmī is not at all being refuted in section 60; rather, his interpretation of the verse is Jīva Gosvāmī’s first interpretation. When Śrīdhara’s Advaitic tendencies create difficulties for Vaiṣṇava dualism, Jīva finds ways of supporting his interpretation and still maintaining a Vaiṣṇava standpoint—first, by harnessing *bhedābheda* theology (taking the opportunity to emphasize the nondifference side), and second, by offering an alternate interpretation, but in the end reaching the same conclusions as Śrīdhara. This is true of Jīva’s relationship with Śrīdhara in general—when he sees a potentially problematic point, Jīva makes a serious effort to agree with Śrīdhara and remain faithful to his interpretation, and yet not compromise on Vaiṣṇava loyalties. In the process, Jīva extends Śrīdhara’s ideas beyond the latter’s intention, creating a multi-faceted and sophisticated theological edifice.

There are a few places, however, where Śrīdhara Svāmī’s Advaitic leanings become too pronounced, and Jīva Gosvāmī treats him as the presenter of the *prima facie* viewpoint (*pūrvapakṣa*). Indeed, this happens once in the *Catuhṣūtrī Tīkā*, in the explanation of the third line of the *Bhāgavata*’s first verse: “*tejo-vāri-mṛdāṃ yathā vinimayo yatra trisargomṛṣā*,” “in whom the threefold evolution is not false, like the exchange of fire, water, and earth.” The word “*vinimayaḥ*” (exchange) and the ambiguous phrase “*trisargomṛṣā*”

<sup>21</sup> Elkman considers Jīva Gosvāmī’s interpretation of the compound to be forced. “A more natural reading of this line,” he writes, “and the one accepted by Śrīdhara, would be, ‘Then, he who knows all three is the ātman, who has no āśraya other than himself.’” (1986: 166). Unfortunately, Elkman seem to misunderstand the word *svāśrayāśraya*. “He who has no āśraya other than himself” is the meaning of only the first member of the compound, namely, *svāśraya* (and, as it happens, Jīva accepts that meaning completely). Śrīdhara’s explanation of the compound is rather “he who has no āśraya other than himself, and who is the shelter of all others.” Furthermore, Elkman offers no reason as to why a *bahuvrīhi* reading of the compound is less “natural” than a *karmadhāraya* reading. Both seem to be equally valid interpretations.

Elkman repeats the same misunderstanding later: “Once Jīva has identified the witness with the pure *jīva*, who is dependent on paramātmā, he can no longer interpret the expression *svāśrayāśraya*, as meaning ‘having no āśraya other than himself’” (ibid.: 168–169). As a matter of fact, Jīva does interpret the word *svāśraya* in that way all along.

(the false/non-false threefold creation) make this line very susceptible to an Advaitin interpretation—a fact noted by Jīva Gosvāmī himself. Thus, Jīva takes the opportunity to offer a refutation of Advaita at this point in his commentary. He interprets the line as follows:

The creation, consisting of the living beings, senses, and gods, based on the three qualities [*guṇas*], is situated in him [Brahman], and he is their master. That creation is not false [*amṛṣā*]. It is not superimposed upon his energies, etc., like silver (on a shell). Rather, it is always situated in Brahman, who is referred to in the famous scriptural passage “From which these . . . ,”<sup>22</sup> For this reason (it is said in the *Brahma-sūtra*), “But the creation of name and form is from him who made it tripartite, for this is the teaching.”<sup>23</sup> By this rule, since the creation has only one creator, it is true [*satya*] alone.

In the verse, the non-falsity (of the creation) is also established by an example. The exchange of fire, etc., is the mutual transposition of portions (of each element). This means that a portion of each element is situated in the others. This (transposition of elements) is not like a falsity, but only as the Lord created them.

Jīva takes the word “*vinimayaḥ*” as referring to the Upaniṣadic theory of *trivṛt-karaṇa*, a process of partition by which each of the base elements—earth, water, and fire—are compounded with parts of the other two to create the phenomenal world as we know it.<sup>24</sup> In this way, Jīva argues for a real emanation of the elements from Brahman, denying the possibility of “creation” in the sense of *āropa*, or the illusory superimposition of the elements on Brahman. Indeed, in the next paragraph, he comes down strongly on Advaita:

Since the interpretation given here is based on the *śruti*, other imaginary interpretations are automatically defeated. In those interpretations, fire and the other elements, which were indicated in a general way (in the verse), are explained in a particular way. This

<sup>22</sup> “That from which these beings are born; on which, once born, they live; and into which they pass upon death—seek to perceive that! That is brahman!” (*Taittirīya* 3.1.1, translation by Olivelle).

<sup>23</sup> *saṁjñā-mūrti-kṛtis tu trivṛtkurvata upadeśāt*  
(2.4.20)

<sup>24</sup> First, each element is divided into equal halves, and one half is further halved. Then, the half part of each element is combined with a quarter of each of the other two. The resultant three compounds are named “earth,” “water,” and “fire” depending on the predominant element in each. In order to account for the other two elements—sky (*ākāśa*) and air (*vāyu*)—Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja expanded *trivṛt-karaṇa* into *pañcī-karaṇa*, a similar process of five-fold partition.

does not please the grammarians. If this was what the *Bhāgavata* meant, it would have said "like water in a mirage" and similarly for the other elements. Moreover, in that view, the threefold creation [*tri-sarga*] is not born from Brahman in the primary sense of the word. Rather, the word "*janma*" is taken in the sense of superimposition [*āropa*].

Although Jīva does not mention it here, the author of the "imaginary interpretation" is in fact Śrīdhara Svāmī, who interprets "*vinimayaḥ*" in the sense of the illusory appearance of one element in another, "like water in a mirage." The "particular way" in which Śrīdhara explains the exchange of elements is as follows:

"*Vinimaya*" is transposition—the appearance of one thing in another. That (appearance) passes as reality because of the underlying existence. In this regard, the perception of water in a mirage, which is the fire element, is well known. There is also the perception of water in glass, which is the earth element, the perception of glass in water, and so on with the other elements, substituting them as appropriate.<sup>25</sup>

Śrīdhara's point is that the world of appearances is insubstantial, but its basis or substratum is Brahman, who is absolutely real. This absolute reality lends reality to the appearances, making them seem substantial, just as the reality of a hot surface makes the mirage water appear real. Indeed, Śrīdhara defines the Supreme Reality (*satyaṁ param*) as "he by whose reality even the false world appears to be real."<sup>26</sup>

Jīva Gosvāmī comes down strongly on this view. He offers several arguments in quick succession as to why superimposition cannot constitute the relationship between the world and Brahman. Here, we need only relate the one that most directly opposes Śrīdhara Svāmī's view:

Therefore, when the explanation is established based on scripture, the following viewpoint would emerge: the superimposition of something occurs in the place where that thing does not actually exist, but is seen elsewhere. Thus, in actual fact, because the superimposition is not connected to the actual object, the object's existence cannot give rise to the superimposition.

<sup>25</sup> vinimayo vyatyayo 'nyasminn anyāabhāsaḥ. sa yathādhiṣṭhāna-sattayā sadvat pratīyate ity arthaḥ. tatra tejasi vāri-buddhir marīci-toye prasiddhā. mṛdi kācādu vāri-buddhir vāriṇi ca kācādi-buddhir ityādi yathāyatham ūhyam.

(*Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* 1.1.1)

<sup>26</sup> yat-satyatayā mithyā-sargo 'pi satyavat pratīyate taṁ param satyam ity arthaḥ.



The point is this: by definition the actual object is absent from the superimposition; therefore there is no connection between the superimposition and the object upon which it is superimposed. For example, when silver is superimposed on a shell, the actual silver is absent, and so there can be no connection between silver and the shell. Therefore, the shell cannot give rise to the appearance of silver. Similarly, when the world is superimposed on Brahman, there is, by definition, no world actually present there, and so there is no connection between the world and Brahman. Therefore, unlike what Śrīdhara Svāmī claims, the world's existence cannot be derived from Brahman's supreme existence. What, then, is the ground or cause of the world's existence?

Jīva Gosvāmī concludes his arguments with a concise statement of his view, incorporating the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava notion of *śakti*:

because the threefold creation is born from Bhagavān—in the primary sense (of “born”)<sup>27</sup>—and Bhagavān is qualified by the energy of creation [*trīsarga-śakti*], and because this is taught by negative concomitance [*vyatireka*], therefore the threefold creation exists in Bhagavān, the all-soul, as distinguished from him.

Although we have seen here a clear example of Śrīdhara Svāmī as the opponent in Jīva Gosvāmī's writings, some tempering remarks need to be made. When Jīva uses Śrīdhara Svāmī as a positive source of exegesis for *Bhāgavata* verses (which is how he uses him in almost every instance), he often quotes Śrīdhara verbatim, and sometimes mentions him by name. Indeed, while interpreting the other three lines of the *Bhāgavata*'s first verse, Jīva follows Śrīdhara quite closely, in the manner we have seen above.<sup>28</sup> And on those few occasions when Jīva does use Śrīdhara as the source of *prima facie* view, he concerns himself only with the problematic ideas and never with the

<sup>27</sup> That is, not in the sense of *āropa*, or superimposition, which is an indirect meaning of birth (*janma*).

<sup>28</sup> Take, for example, the first line of Śrīdhara's comments on “*tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ . . .*” (*Bhāgavata* 1.1.1):

yatra yasmin brahmaṇi trayāṇāṁ māyā-guṇānāṁ tamo-rajah-sattvānāṁ sargo  
bhutendriya-devatā-rupe 'mṛṣā satyaḥ.

Brahman, in whom the creation, consisting of the living beings, senses, and gods, based on the three guṇas—*sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*—is not false, i.e., is real.

Jīva begins his own comments by quoting this sentence, but with one important adjustment. He writes, “*brahmatvāt sarvatra sthite vāsudeve bhagavati yasmin*,” “in whom, in Bhagavān Vāsudeva, situated everywhere, because of his being Brahman.” Jīva thus introduces the concept of Bhagavān into the explanation, and singles him out by turning “*brahman*” into a qualifier that indicates Bhagavān's all-pervasiveness. We have seen that this sort of expansion and adjustment in accordance with Gauḍīya theology is typical of Jīva's relationship with Śrīdhara.

author himself. Out of respect for Śrīdhara, Jīva does not quote him, paraphrase him, or even use language similar to his. As far as the reader is concerned, the opposing views could have come from any Advaitin. Indeed, for Jīva Gosvāmī, Śrīdhara is factually *not* the source of the problematic viewpoint, since Śrīdhara is a “great Vaiṣṇava,” whose “writings are interspersed with the doctrines of Advaita so that an appreciation for the greatness of bhagavat may be awakened in the Advaitins” (*Tattva-sandarbha* 27).

### Rāmānuja

Although Śrīdhara Svāmī is by far the most-used source in the Sandarbhas, in the *Catuḥsūtrī* section of the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* Rāmānujācārya takes the lead. The reason for this is straightforward: Śrīdhara did not write a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, and so Jīva Gosvāmī must look elsewhere for support in his endeavor. Rāmānuja is a likely source for two reasons: First, as Daniel Sheridan has shown, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* favors a theological standpoint that is similar to Rāmānuja's *viśiṣṭādvaita*.<sup>29</sup> Since Caitanyite theology in general, and Jīva's *Catuḥsūtrī Tīkā* in particular, are based upon the *Bhāgavata*, it is reasonable that Jīva should look to Rāmānuja for an agreeable commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Indeed, we have seen in the previous chapter that there are points of significant convergence between *acintya-bhedābheda* and Rāmānuja's system in regard to hermeneutical method and philosophical standpoint.

A second reason for the choice of commentator can be found in the history of the Sandarbhas themselves. Jīva Gosvāmī begins the *Tattva-sandarbha* with the following verses:

May Śrīla Rūpa and Sanātana be victorious in the land of Mathurā. These two preceptors of the truth asked that this book be written. A certain friend of theirs—a Bhaṭṭa who was born in a lineage of South Indian *brāhmaṇas*—wrote a book after selecting passages from the works of eminent Vaiṣṇavas. His original compilation is now properly ordered in some places, but in other places it is out of order or altogether missing. Seeing this, a simple soul [*jīvaka*] is now writing it out in proper sequence.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See Sheridan's *The Advaitic Theism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1986) and “Śrīdhara and His Commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa” (1994).

<sup>30</sup> jayatām mathurā-bhūmau śrīla-rūpa-sanātanau  
yau vilekhaṇas tattvaṁ jñāpakau pustikāṁ imāṁ  
ko 'pi tad-bāndhavo bhaṭṭo dakṣiṇa-dvija-varṇasajaj  
vivicya vyalikhaḍ granthaṁ likhitāḍ vṛddha-vaiṣṇavaiḥ  
tasyāḍyaṁ granthanālekhāṁ krānta-vyutkrānta-khaṇḍitam  
paryālocyātha paryāyaṁ kṛtvā likhati jīvakaḥ

(*Tattva-sandarbha*, invocation, verses 3–5)

Jīva Gosvāmī clearly feels very indebted to the Bhaṭṭa, for he repeats a shorter version of these verses at the beginning of every Sandarbha.<sup>31</sup> In his commentary, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa identifies the Bhaṭṭa as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī, the only one of the six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana to hail from South India. According to the *Bhakti-ratnākara* of Naraharī Cakravartī, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the son of Venkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, a Śrī-vaiṣṇava priest at Śrī Raṅgam. His uncle was Prabhodānanda Sarasvatī, the author of several Caitanya Vaiṣṇava works of poetry. The two *brāhmaṇas* hosted Caitanya in Śrī Raṅgam for the four months of the rainy season, during which time they held lively discussions on various topics related to Kṛṣṇa. The young Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was deeply influenced by Caitanya's personality and teachings, and decided to join him. When he reached a suitable age, Caitanya instructed him to move to Vṛndāvana and assist Rūpa and Sanātana.<sup>32</sup>

As the son of a Śrī-vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa*, it is quite likely Gopāla Bhaṭṭa received an education in the standard texts of the Śrī-vaiṣṇava corpus, especially Rāmānuja's commentary on *Brahma-sūtra*, called *Śrībhāṣya*. Indeed, the Sandarbhas as a whole betray the author's close acquaintance with Śrī-vaiṣṇava literature. Rāmānuja is mentioned by name seven times in the *Paramātma-sandarbha*, and there are three references to "the very ancient guru of the Śrī-vaiṣṇava tradition," Jāmāṭṛ Muni. The latter is identical to Manavāla Mahāmuni, whose name means "beautiful son-in-law" in Tamil, translated as "*ramya-jāmāṭṛ*" in Sanskrit. A passage consisting of four verses describing the nature of the living entity is credited to him.<sup>33</sup> It seems unlikely that someone not trained in South Indian Vaiṣṇavism would be familiar with this passage.

Indeed, in the *Tattva-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmī highlights Rāmānuja as one of his main sources, on a par with Śrīdhara Svāmī:

<sup>31</sup> The first two verses are condensed into one:

tau santoṣayatā santau śrīla-rūpa-sanātanau  
dākṣiṇātyena bhaṭṭena punar etad vivicyate

This work was compiled by the South Indian Bhaṭṭa for the pleasure of the two saints, Śrīla Rūpa and Sanātana. However. . .

Then the third verse is repeated here as it is.

<sup>32</sup> This account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's life is taken from Steven Rosen's *The Six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana* (1990), a hagiography which draws material from various Bengali works, including the *Bhakti-ratnākara*. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja describes Caitanya's stay at the house of Venkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, identifying the latter as a Śrī-vaiṣṇava, but does not mention either Gopāla Bhaṭṭa or Prabhodānanda Sarasvatī. See *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 2.9.79–165.

<sup>33</sup> (*Paramātma-sandarbha* 19). He is introduced thus: śrī-rāmānujācāryād atiprācīnena śrī-vaiṣṇava-sampradāya-guruṇā śrī-jāmāṭṛ-muninā upadiṣṭam. "This is taught by Śrī Jāmāṭṛ Muni, the very ancient guru of the Śrīvaiṣṇava lineage, following Śrī Rāmānujācārya."

In other instances, our interpretation will be based on the doctrines found in the writings of the venerable Rāmānuja, such as his *Śrībhāṣya* etc., (adhered to) by the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, whose renowned sampradāya has originated from the goddess Śrī herself, and who are celebrated as great Bhāgavatas of the Draviḍa region etc. for as the Bhāgavata itself states, there are many in this area well known as Vaiṣṇavas: "O Great King, some (devotees of Nārāyaṇa) can be found here and there, but their numbers are great in the Draviḍa regions" (Bh.P. 11/5/39).

(Elkman 1986: 119)<sup>34</sup>

Jīva gets the nuts and bolts of his commentary on each *sūtra* from the *Śrībhāṣya*. Like all Vedantic commentators, he begins his explanation of each *sūtra* with a word-by-word definition, followed by a general statement of the *sūtra*'s main thrust. For all five *sūtras*, Jīva draws these basic elements from the beginning of Rāmānuja's commentary, either by quoting verbatim or by closely paraphrasing. In addition, Jīva often concludes his explanation of a *sūtra* by quoting from the end of Rāmānuja's commentary on that *sūtra*. By thus taking both the beginning and end from Rāmānuja, it is almost as if Jīva is requesting his readers to fill in the rest of the commentary for themselves. Indeed, Jīva's own purpose here is not to reinvent the wheel, for Rāmānuja's basic explanation is quite acceptable to him. Rather, he wishes to overlay it with Caitanyite theology, specifically by applying the *sūtras* to the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Thus, after presenting the overall meaning of each *sūtra* (drawn from Rāmānuja) and dealing with a few major objections, Jīva turns to the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* and extracts the same meaning as he did for the *sūtra*.

In some places it is nearly impossible to grasp Jīva Gosvāmī's argument without prior knowledge of the *Śrībhāṣya*. In his explanation of the third *sūtra*, "*śāstra-yonitvāt*," Jīva quotes from the end of Rāmānuja's commentary, wherein the latter provides a series of four syllogisms that apparently prove various facts about the nature of the world, God, and time.<sup>35</sup> Although their intended conclusions are consistent with his own views, Rāmānuja

<sup>34</sup> draviḍādideśa-vikhyāta-parama-bhāgavatānām teṣām eva bāhulyena tatra vaiṣṇavatvena prasiddhatvāt śrī-bhāgavata eva kvacit kvacin mahārāja draviḍeṣu ca bhūriṣaḥ. ity anena prathita-mahimnām sāksāc-chrī-prabhṛtitaḥ pravṛttasampradāyānām śrī-vaiṣṇavābhidhānām śrī-rāmānuja-bhagavatpāda-viracita-śrībhāṣyādi-dṛṣṭa-mata-prāmāṇyena mūla-grantha-svāsyena ca.

(*Tattva-sandarbha* 27)

<sup>35</sup> For details, see my translation of Jīva Gosvāmī's commentary on *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.3, along with the accompanying footnotes.



nevertheless systematically dismantles the inferences, just to show the futility of logic for knowing Brahman. Jīva reiterates these syllogisms, and then concludes, "Logic has no basis . . . Inferences about the Lord according to one philosophical system are refuted by another, opposing philosophical system." Yet, there is no indication as to why four (apparently) perfectly reasonable syllogisms should lead one to conclude the futility of logic. Jīva clearly expects his readers to recall and supply Rāmānuja's detailed discussion of the syllogisms.

Jīva Gosvāmī's quotations from Rāmānujācārya's *Śrībhāṣya* in the *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā* can be summarized as shown in Table 3.1. Although Jīva borrows heavily from Rāmānujācārya in his *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā*, he does not display the same level of commitment as he does with Śrīdhara Svāmī. Since Śrīdhara is regarded as the unsurpassable authority on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Jīva must take into account everything that he says, whether by reiterating, defending, or (in a few cases) refuting his views. The same imperative, however, does not hold with Rāmānuja. Jīva can select what he likes from the *Śrībhāṣya*, emphasizing some points and ignoring others. A simple example of this can be given in relation to one of the core tenets of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, namely, that Bhagavān possesses a non-material body. Jīva brings up this point several times in his *Ṭikā*, and argues for it using both the Bhāgavata's first verse and the *Catuḥsūtrī*. Now, at the end of his "*śāstra-yonitvāt*" commentary, Jīva quotes a passage from Rāmānuja describing Bhagavān's limitless, auspicious qualities that are known from scripture. Although Rāmānuja names many qualities in quick succession—such as the Lord's omniscience, limitlessness and abundance—Jīva highlights one in particular, and applies the other qualities to that one: "In this way, it is established that he (Bhagavān) has a form which is eternal, unlimited, and of his own nature."

### Śaṅkara and Madhva

The clearest way in which Jīva shows his lack of total or exclusive commitment to Rāmānuja is, of course, by his use of other Vedāntic commentators, specifically Śaṅkarācārya and Madhvācārya. For *sūtras* three to five, Jīva offers alternate explanations that are based on either of their *Brahma-sūtra* commentaries. In this section of the *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā*, Jīva employs a remarkably eclectic and innovative approach toward the Vedāntic tradition as a whole. Indeed, his alternate commentaries not only draw from other teachers, but blend the teachers' ideas to produce a syncretistic commentary that is not fully identifiable with any one of them.

The first alternate commentary—on "*śāstra-yonitvāt*"—draws from Śaṅkara's *Brahma-sūtra* commentary. While all commentators read "*śāstra-yoni*" as a possessive compound—"he who has scripture as his source (i.e., he who is knowable through scripture)"—Śaṅkara also reads it as a

Table 3.1 The content of Jīva Gosvāmī's quotations from Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*

Location in Rāmānuja's commentary	Sūtra 1	Sūtra 2	Sūtra 3	Sūtra 4	Sūtra 5
Near the beginning	Definition of Brahman  <i>Pūrva- mīmāṃsā</i> as prerequisite for Vedānta	Scope of "janmādy asya"  Auspicious qualities of Brahman  The world is an accidental characteristic of Brahman.	Brahman cannot be known by any <i>pramāṇa</i> other than scripture ( <i>śabda</i> ).	The function of "tu" in the <i>sūtra</i>	Meaning of "aśabdam"  The nature of <i>pradhāna</i>
Near the end		An unqualified substance is not the object of inquiry; Brahman is qualified.  The world is not a confusion ( <i>bhrama</i> ) superimposed on Brahman.	Inference ( <i>anumāna</i> ) provides no access to Brahman.  Brahman is completely different from objects known by other <i>pramāṇas</i> .	Brahman is the supreme human end ( <i>parama- puruṣārtha</i> ).	

genitive-case compound—"he who is the source of scripture." Although Madhva argues strongly against this interpretation,<sup>36</sup> Jīva finds support for it in the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*, in the phrase: "*tene brahma hydā ya ādi-kavaye*" ("he extended the Veda to Brahmā through the heart"). In effect, Jīva seems to be saying, "See, even alternate interpretations of other schools can be found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This is because the *Bhāgavata* is the natural and complete commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*."

<sup>36</sup> For a summary of Madhva's views on this and the following *sūtras*, in contrast to other commentators, see B.N.K. Sharma, *The Brahmasūtras and Their Principal Commentaries*, pp. 80–95.

For the next two *sūtras* (“*tat tu samanvayāt*” and “*ikṣater nāśabdam*”), Jīva turns to Madhva for alternate interpretations.<sup>37</sup> Madhva explains “*samanvaya*” as “*samyag anvaya*,” complete and proper knowledge of the entire range of scriptural texts. Jīva accepts this, but adds a unique twist:

Samanvaya here is the thorough knowledge of the meaning of the Veda, that is, proficiency in analyzing (the meaning) completely and in every way. Because of this [*yasmāt*], one determines that [*tat tu*] Brahman is the source of scripture. Perfect knowledge is not present in the living entity, and the *pradhāna* (primal, undifferentiated aggregate of matter) is unconscious. This is the meaning. In the scriptural passage: “He knows everything. No one knows him.” Brahman has that complete knowledge.

The *sūtra* asserts the necessity of complete knowledge of scripture; yet, complete knowledge is present only in Brahman. Since the author must have full knowledge of his creation, only Brahman can be the source of scripture. Thus, Jīva turns Madhva’s reading of this *sūtra* into a justification for the alternate interpretation of the previous one—an interpretation that Madhva himself argued against! The word “*samanvayāt*” is usually understood as referring to the student of scripture—“by complete knowledge, (the student realizes) that.” Jīva is unique in applying the word to Brahman himself—“because of (Brahman’s) complete knowledge, that (is the case, namely, Brahman is the source of scripture).”

<sup>37</sup> In the *Tattva-sandarbhā* (28), Jīva Gosvāmī acknowledges Madhva as one of his respected sources, but mainly for quotations from texts that are unavailable to Jīva:

And here, the authoritative words of Śruti, the Purāṇas, etc. will be quoted just as I have seen them; . . . In some cases, I have been unable to personally see certain verses, and so have taken them from the Bhāgavatātātparyā, Bhāratatātparyā, and Brahmasūtrabhāṣya, etc. of the venerable Madhvācārya, the ancient preceptor of the doctrine of Tattvavāda, who, even after accepting discipleship with the revered Śāṅkarācārya, separated himself from him, and siding with the worshippers of bhagavat, advanced many distinctively “Vaiṣṇava” doctrines, who was chief among knowers of the Vedas and their meaning, and whose disciples and grand-disciples include Vijayadhvaṇya, Brahma Tīrtha, Vyāsa Tīrtha, etc., of great renown in the South and elsewhere. As stated by Madhva in his Bhāratatātparyā: “Having mastered the other scriptures by the light of Vedānta, and having seen different versions of the text (the Mahābhārata) in various parts of the country, I will examine these, and will speak just as Bhagavān Vyāsa, the Lord Nārāyaṇa himself, spoke the Mahābhārata etc.”

The Śruti texts which will be quoted from Madhva will be the Caturvedaśikhā etc.; the Purāṇic texts will include those portions of Purāṇas, such as the Garuḍa etc., which are no longer available; the Saṁhitās will include the Mahāsaṁhitā etc.; and the Tantras will include the Tantrabhāgavata and Brahmatarka etc.

(Elkman 1986: 121)

Jīva Gosvāmī continues his blending of apparently conflicting viewpoints in the next *sūtra*, this time bringing together Madhva and Rāmānuja. Nowhere does Madhva differ more starkly from both Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara than in his interpretation of “*īkṣater nāśabdam*.” Both the latter give the following basic meaning to the *sūtra*, “That which is not revealed (solely) by scripture, namely, the *pradhāna*, is not (the cause of the universe), because of the root ‘*īkṣ*.’” The root “*īkṣ*” is used in the Chāndogya statement, “He thought [*aikṣata*], ‘Let me become many. Let me propagate.’” Since the material aggregate (*pradhāna*) is not conscious, it cannot think, and so it cannot be the cause of the universe.

Madhva, on the other hand, takes the word “*aśabdam*” as referring not to the material aggregate, but to Brahman. Brahman is not *aśabdam*, beyond words, because of the root “*īkṣ*” found in such Upaniṣadic statements as “*puruṣam īkṣate*,” “he sees the Supreme Person” (*Praśna* 5). In other words, if one were to claim that Brahman is inexpressible, and therefore cannot be known through the Vedas, then why would the Upaniṣads exhort us to see, know, and understand Brahman? Brahman can be known through words, although not exhaustively.

Although Madhva and Rāmānuja’s interpretations of “*īkṣater nāśabdam*” seem poles apart, Jīva brings them together with considerable ingenuity. He once again shifts the semantic force of the *sūtra* from the student of scripture (who must use words to know Brahman) to Brahman himself.

One may ask, “Since the *śruti* says ‘[Brahman is] without words [*aśabda*], without touch, without form, imperishable,’<sup>38</sup> how can Brahman have scripture [*śabda*] as the source of knowledge about himself?” This is answered: In this context, Brahman is not without words. Why? Because of *īkṣ*: “It [Brahman] thought [*īkṣ*], ‘Let me become many. Let me procreate.’” According to the *śruti*, the root *īkṣ* here consists of words such as “let me become many.”

Jīva here accepts the same Upaniṣadic statement as the subject of discussion (*viśayavākya*) as do Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara—“*tad aikṣata bahu syām*”—but then derives Madhva’s conclusion from it. If Brahman himself uses words, as he does in *Chāndogya* 6.2.3, then how can he be inaccessible by words (*aśabdam*)? As always, Jīva finds the seeds of this interpretation in the *Bhāgavata*: “This very fact is stated by “*abhijñā*” (in the first verse). He is skillful (*abhijñā*) in deliberation that consists of words like ‘let me become many.’”

<sup>38</sup> Kaṭha 3.15.



This kind of innovative synthesis is not unusual for Jīva Gosvāmī. His *Sarva-saṁvādinī* (which literally means “conversing with everyone”) brings the three major Vedāntists—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva—into dialogue with each other on selected issues. The work was written as a supplement to the first four Sandarbhas, and a systematic study of it would comprise a natural sequel to the present endeavor.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> I am aware of three printed editions of the *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, two in Bengali script (one with a Bengali translation) and two in Devanāgarī. Also, Haridās Śāstri includes the *Sarva-saṁvādinī* in his edition of the first four Sandarbhas, although he does not supply a translation. For further details, see the bibliography.



## VEDĀNTA IN THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

### The overall purport of the *Bhāgavata*

The overarching structure of *Paramātmā-sandarbhā's* 105th section, which includes Jīva Gosvāmī's *Catuhṣūtrī Tīkā*, is quite simple. Jīva sets out to determine the overall purport of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by examining the six indicators of meaning (*tātparya-liṅga*):

This *mahāpurāṇa* has the name Śrī *Bhāgavata* because it teaches about him (Bhagavān). As it is said, "This Purāṇa, called *Bhāgavata*, is equal to the Veda." The chief meaning of the *Bhāgavata* will be considered from different angles according to the six indicators of meaning [*tātparya-liṅga*]: "The opening and concluding statements [*upakrama-upasamhāra*], repetition [*abhyāsa*], novelty [*apūrvatā*], result [*phala*], subordinate statements of commendation or praise [*arthavāda*], and reasoning [*upapatti*] are the indicators which are used to determine the purport."<sup>1</sup>

These six criteria for determining the purport of a text are one of the features of Mīmāṃsā exegesis almost universally adopted by Vedāntists. Advaitin writers employ the technique for everything from determining the meaning of a particular Upaniṣadic passage to showing the purport of the entire Veda. Śaṅkara, for example, uses the technique to show that "*tat tvam asi*" is the purport of *Chāndogya* chapter 6, that the identity of the *jīva* and Brahman is the theme of all the Upaniṣads, and that Brahman is the subject matter of the entire Veda (Murty 1959: 83–84). Madhva asserts that the technique must be used in order to reach the harmonious concordance of all scriptures that is described in the *sūtra* "*tat tu samanvayāt*."

<sup>1</sup> Here Jīva Gosvāmī is quoting a well-known verse which lists the six *tātparya-liṅga*s:

upakramopasamhārāv abhyāso 'pūrvatā phalam  
arthavādupapattī ca liṅgaṁ tātparya-nirṇaye

In order to get a feel for how this exegetical method is used in Vedānta, and to better understand what Jīva Gosvāmī has in mind when he employs the method, let us take a closer look at Śaṅkara's *Chāndogya* commentary,<sup>2</sup> a work which would have been quite familiar to Jīva Gosvāmī, though not very agreeable because of its nondualist conclusions. The sixth chapter begins thus:

There was one Śvetaketu, the son of Āruṇi. One day his father told him: "Śvetaketu, take up the celibate life of a student, for there is no one in our family, my son, who has not studied and is the kind of Brahmin who is so only because of birth."

So he went away to become a student at the age of 12 and, after learning all the Vedas, returned when he was 24, swell-headed, thinking himself to be learned, and arrogant. His father then said to him: "Śvetaketu, here you are, my son, swell-headed, thinking yourself to be learned, and arrogant; so you must have surely asked about that rule of substitution by which one hears what has not been heard of before, thinks of what has not been thought of before, and perceives what has not been perceived before?"

"How indeed does that rule of substitution work, sir?"

"It is like this, son. By means of just one lump of clay one would perceive everything made of clay—the transformation is a verbal handle, a name—while the reality is just this: 'It's clay.'"

(Olivelle 1996: 148)

Śaṅkara takes the phrase "*yena avijñātaṁ vijñātam*," "that by which one perceives (knows) what is unperceived (unknown)" as the opening statement (*upakrama*). We can immediately make the following observation: the passages that fill the six categories are as much a matter of interpretive choice as are the meanings of those passages. The opening statement chosen by Śaṅkara is not the first sentence of Chapter 6 (it occurs in verse number three), nor is it the only phrase in the first part of Chapter 6 that is meaningful enough to serve as the opening statement. The selection of the statement can be questioned as much as the sense ascribed to it. The same can be said of the other indicators as well. This arbitrariness, however, is not in itself a drawback, for the task of the exegete is to show that a particular reading will *harmonize* the entire text in question. If a particular application of the six indicator method leads to a consistent and coherent understanding of the text, that in itself is sufficient reason to accept the selection of verses as valid.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Jacqueline Hirst for pointing out to me this usage of the method by Śaṅkara. Much of what is said here is derived and developed from correspondence with her. For further discussion of Śaṅkara's usage of the six criteria, see her book, *A Way of Teaching: Studying Śaṅkara's Advaita Vedānta*.



Śaṅkara's chosen concluding phrase, however, is indeed the very last statement of Chapter 6: "that constitutes the self of this whole world; that is the truth; that is the self (ātman). And that's how you are, Śvetaketu" (Olivelle 1996: 156). The key phrase here, of course, is "*tat tvam asi*," often translated as "you are that." Since the opening and concluding statements must be harmonious in meaning, the opening phrase "that by which one perceives" should be understood as referring to the same thing as "*tat tvam asi*." In other words, you are that by which one perceives.

Once the concordance (*ekavākyatā*) of the opening and concluding statements has been established, the other categories come without much difficulty. Repetition (*abhiyāsa*) is quite obvious; the phrase "you are that" is repeated nine times. The subject matter is novel (*apūrvatā*), Śaṅkara argues, because it cannot be known by any of the other means of knowledge, such as perception or inference. The opening paragraph (quoted above) also makes it clear that the knowledge being presented here is different from any other learned by Śvetaketu. The fruit of this knowledge is given by way of a story in 6.14:

Take, for example, son, a man who is brought here blindfolded from the land of Gandhāra and then left in a deserted region. As he was brought blindfolded and left there blindfolded, he would drift about there towards the east, or the north, or the south. Now, if someone were to free him from his blindfold and tell him, "Go that way; the land of Gandhāra is in that direction", being a learned and wise man, he would go from village to village asking for directions and finally arrive in the land of Gandhāra. In exactly the same way in this world when a man has a teacher, he knows: "There is a delay for me here only until I am freed; but then I will arrive!"

(ibid.: 155)

Here, relief from ignorance or bondage and a return to freedom are identified as the results (*phala*) of knowing the self. The entire enterprise of self-realization is praised (*arthavāda*) by the very context in which the knowledge was delivered. Śvetaketu came home after twelve years of study, a master of all branches of Vedic learning, taught by "illustrious men" (ibid.: 148). Yet he knew nothing of the self. His father's instructions to him about his own identity (you are that!) thus stand a step above all other knowledge. Finally, the Upaniṣad argues and reasons (*upapatti*) by way of analogies—clay, copper, salt, and others. All of the examples point to the same thesis—the identity of the individual self and Brahman. And since all six indicators of meaning are in agreement, Śaṅkara can conclude that "you are that" is indeed the purport of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* Chapter 6.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It must be said that Śaṅkara does not refer to all six indicators *liṅgas* by name in his commentary, "but it is clear that he is using them in the course of his exegesis, showing how the whole of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* chapter six is harmonised by an Advaitin reading" (Hirst).

Now, the fifth category, *arthavāda*, merits a closer look here, for its application is not as clear as the others. The term undergoes a considerable shift in meaning from Mīmāṃsā to Vedānta, and is thus a useful example of how Vedānta appropriates exegetical techniques from earlier traditions. For Mīmāṃsā, the Vedas are primarily injunctive, that is, they prescribe the performance of various ritual activities. Injunctions for the performance of sacrifice are the useful (and therefore meaningful) parts of the Vedas. Sentences which merely state something or deliver information are called *arthavādas*, and they are useful

in so far as they form a unitary passage with command-sentences. For example, the *arthavāda* 'Vāyu is a swift deity' forms a unitary passage with the injunction, "One who wants prosperity *should* touch a goat relating to Vāyu," because taken independently the *arthavāda* has no use, while taken as a corroborative statement of the injunction, it praises the god Vāyu and suggests that a rite in connection with that god is highly praiseworthy.

(Murty 1959: 69)<sup>4</sup>

*Arthavādas* are supplementary statements that explain or praise sacrificial activity, and thus provide encouragement for its performance. Clooney explains:

Just as subordinate actions are indirectly related to a larger sacrificial purpose through preparing things used in the main actions, commendatory statements [*arthavāda*] participate in the larger purpose by supporting injunctive statements. . . . [S]entences and the Veda itself are analyzed into components to be classified hierarchically according to connection to action.

(1990a: 119, 122)

Vedānta turns this hierarchy on its head. Whereas Mīmāṃsā regards anything not directly related to action as secondary in significance, Vedānta regards action itself as secondary to knowledge, and statements not conveying spiritual truth as lesser in importance. For Śaṅkara, this includes injunctions related to the knowledge being taught, genealogies of teachers, factual statements about the world, and genesis stories. In the case of *Chāndogya* Chapter 6, for example, we saw that Śaṅkara regards the story of Śvetaketu as the *arthavāda*, since it provides the context for the delivery of knowledge and highlights the teaching's rarity.

<sup>4</sup> K. Satchidananda Murty lists three kinds of *arthavādas*: *guṇavāda* (a sentence that contradicts what is known from other *pramāṇas*), *anuvāda* (a sentence that states something already known through other *pramāṇas*), and *bhūtārthavāda* (a sentence which neither contradicts nor confirms what is known by other *pramāṇas*). See *Revelation and Reason in Advaita Vedānta* (1959: Chapter 5), for further discussion of the varieties and significance of *arthavādas*.

Let us now turn to Jīva Gosvāmī's application of the six indicators in the 105th *anuccheda* of the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*. His choice of verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* for each of the six categories is as follows:

### *Opening and concluding statements*

For the opening statement, Jīva simply quotes the very first verse of the *Bhāgavata*:

Let us meditate on the Supreme Truth, from whom there is the creation, etc. of this (universe)—inferred by positive and negative concomitance in things—who is the all-knower, self-luminous, who revealed the Vedas through the heart to the first sage, about whom the gods are confused, in whom the threefold evolution is not false—like the exchange of fire, water, and earth—and who, by his own power, is always free from deception.<sup>5</sup>

For the concluding statement, he selects verse nineteen in Chapter 13 of the twelfth book:

Let us meditate upon the pure, spotless, sorrowless, immortal, Supreme Truth, who out of compassion illuminated this unparalleled lamp of knowledge to Ka (Brahmā) long ago. Through that form (Brahmā), he gave it to Nārada, and through him to Kṛṣṇamuni (Vyāsa), and through him to Yogīndra (Śuka), and through him to Bhagavadrāta (Parīkṣit).<sup>6</sup>

Here, we have a situation that is in some ways opposite to what we had with Śāṅkara's *Chāndogya* commentary. There, Śāṅkara accepted the last sentence of *Chāndogya* Chapter 6 as the concluding statement, but selected an opener that conformed in meaning but was not the very first sentence of the chapter. Here, Jīva Gosvāmī does accept the first statement of the *Bhāgavata* as the opening statement, but identifies the closing statement as a verse that occurs four verses before the end. The very last verse of the *Bhāgavata* goes

<sup>5</sup> janmādy asya yato 'nvayād itarataś cārtheṣv abhijñāḥ svarāḥ  
tene brahma hṛdā ya ādi-kavaye muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ  
tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ yathā vinimayo yatra trisargo 'mṛṣā  
dhāmnā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakaṁ satyaṁ paraṁ dhīmahi  
(Translation based on Sheridan 1994: 51–52)

<sup>6</sup> kasmai yena vibhāsito 'yam atulo jñāna-pradīpaḥ purā  
tad-rūpeṇa ca nārādāya munaye kṛṣṇāya tad-rūpiṇā  
yogīndrāya tad-ātmanātha bhagavad-rātāya kārūṇyatas  
tac chuddhaṁ vimalaṁ viśokam amṛtaṁ satyaṁ paraṁ dhīmahi

like this: "The singing of whose names destroys all sins, and obeisance to whom subdues all misery—to that Supreme Hari, I bow down."<sup>7</sup> This verse, or any of the three before it, could just as well have served as concluding statements. Indeed, Jīva Gosvāmī's chosen conclusion would probably have been regarded as a commendatory statement (*arthavāda*) by Śaṅkara, since it gives a genealogy of teachers. Still, the reason for Jīva's selection is clear: the verse ends with the phrase "*satyaṁ paraṁ dhīmahi*," which matches the first verse exactly. This fact in itself validates the selection, for the initial assumption is that there is harmony between the opening and concluding statements; the expert exegete must simply find it. The three words, "*satyaṁ paraṁ dhīmahi*," are crucial to Jīva's commentary on the opening verse. Through them, he comments upon the first *sūtra* of the *Brahma-sūtra*, and establishes Bhagavān as the object of meditation or inquiry.

Sometimes, however, it becomes impossible to find harmony between the opening and concluding statements, and in such instances the question arises as to which holds precedence in determining the meaning of the text. This has sparked considerable debate among Vedāntins of different traditions, with the Advaitins arguing for the supremacy of the opening statement (*upakrama*), while the Mādhvas favor the concluding statement (*upasamhāra*). In his work *Upakrama-parākrama*, the sixteenth-century Advaitin writer, Appaya Dikṣita, argues that if the introduction and conclusion deal with the same subject matter but conflict in their viewpoint, the introduction should be given priority, and the conclusion interpreted in conformity with it. The *Brahma-sūtra* itself provides a good example of this principle at work. The text begins by asserting the necessity of inquiry into Brahman (*brahma-jijñāsā*), thereby privileging *jñāna* as the means of realizing Brahman:

Now it is found that the last chapter of the *Brahma Sūtras* deals in general with the successive stages by which a man who has worshipped the Saguṇa Brahman [Brahman with attributes] reaches the world of Brahmā (the four-faced deity). Such a state is, according to the Advaita theory, not a lasting one, since it is the result of worship. But after describing the state of one who reaches the world of Brahmā and how he has come to reach it, the very last *sūtra* says: "There is no return for those who have gone to Brahmaloka, for scripture says so." While this *sūtra* apparently asserts that the souls who have reached the world of Brahmā through worship have attained final liberation, Śaṅkara interprets it to mean that this state also is *not* the lasting one, but that it is called "lasting", because

<sup>7</sup> nām-asāṅkīrtanaṁ yasya sarva-pāpa-praṇāśanam  
praṇāmo duḥkha-śamanas taṁ namāmi harim param  
(12.13.23)



the souls who have gone to the world of Brahmā can there undertake an inquiry [vicāra] about Brahman, obtain Brahman-knowledge and thereby attain final liberation. This is justified thus: While in the earlier chapters and the earlier portion of the very last section, jñāna alone is said to be the means of attaining liberation, the very last sūtra says that Upāsana leads to liberation. Applying the principle of Upakrama parākrama, this apparent meaning should be rejected, and a meaning in conformity with preliminary chapters taken. By doing that alone the *purport* is obtained.

(Murty 1959: 85)

Vaiṣṇava Vedāntists, of course, have no issue with worship leading to liberation and, indeed, would be quite happy to accord it a privileged position over jñāna. Madhva, for example, interprets the last sūtra not as a description of Brahmā's world, but of the state of final liberation: one who has reached Brahman must never return.<sup>8</sup> In general, Madhva holds that the six indicators are listed in ascending order of strength, from the opening statement (*upakrama*) to the argument (*upapatti*). In response to the *Upakrama-parākrama*, Vijayīndra Tirtha, a disciple of the famous Mādhva exponent Vyāsarāja, composed the *Upasāmhāra-vijaya*, "Victory of the Conclusion."

Jīva Gosvāmī follows the Mādhvas in giving precedence to the conclusion, although his commentary on the opening verse far exceeds his commentary on the conclusion in both detail and sophistication. Jīva points out that even Śaṅkara gives priority to the concluding statement in his commentary on *Brahma-sūtra* 3.3.16, where he uses a later passage (from the *Chāndogya*) to reinterpret an earlier passage (from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*). Jīva uses this technique to argue on the basis of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*'s conclusion that Bhagavān is both the speaker of the four-verse *Bhāgavata* and the object of Vyāsa's trance.<sup>9</sup> Thus, while Jīva sides with the Vaiṣṇava stance on the issue of priority, he is quite aware of the opposing viewpoint and even eager to find a point of mutual agreement.

<sup>8</sup> The final sūtra consists of two words, repeated twice: *anāvṛttiḥ śabdād anāvṛttiḥ śabdāt*. Jagannātha Tirtha, an eighteenth-century Mādhva commentator, explains it thus:

Muktas [liberated souls] enjoying their Bhogas [pleasures] never return, never return. They eternally continue to enjoy their Bhogas. This is how the Śrutis state. Repetition of the words is meant to emphatically bring out the thesis that *Mukti [liberation] is a state from where there is no return to the Saṁsāra. Mukti is a state of unending Bliss and Pleasure.*

(Panchamukhi 241)

<sup>9</sup> For an analysis of Jīva's use of Śaṅkara's commentary on *Brahma-sūtra* 3.3.16, see the notes for my translation of Jīva's commentary on the concluding statement of the *Bhāgavata*.

*Repetition and novelty*

Jīva Gosvāmī selects the following verse to serve as evidence of both repetition and novelty:

Bhagavān Hari, the Lord of all, who drives away Kali's multitude of impurities, and who possesses a perfect form, is not repeatedly praised elsewhere, but here he is described in detail in every line by the use of narratives.<sup>10</sup>

It is worth noting that here, unlike in the *Chāndogya* case, Jīva does not give an example of repetition in the *Bhāgavata*, but only a statement that it does occur: "Bhagavān is described in every line." This kind of repetition cannot be substantiated by a simple count; it is more a question of evaluation: Is every line of the *Bhāgavata* somehow related to Bhagavān? Does Bhagavān permeate every narrative of the *Purāṇa*? Jīva Gosvāmī agrees that the *Bhāgavata* sometimes describes divinities other than Bhagavān, but it does so by putting them in proper relation to him, instead of uncritically equating them:

Nārāyaṇa and others are described here, but they are described as perfect forms [*aśeṣa-mūrti*] or descents [*avatāra*] of him. Bhagavān, who has such characteristics, is sung here, not—as in other places—without making distinctions. By the use of different narratives, Bhagavān is pointed to in every line [*anupadam*] and is described [*pañhita*] from all perspectives [*pari*], or in other words, he is stated clearly.

This clear focus on Bhagavān is the unique characteristic of the *Bhāgavata*. In other words, the repetition (*abhyāsa*) itself becomes the novelty (*apūrvatā*). The *Bhāgavata* is not the only place where Bhagavān is praised; rather, it is the only place where he is praised so relentlessly. If we put the repetition and novelty together, we get a very strong claim: only Bhagavān is described in the *Bhāgavata* and only the *Bhāgavata* clearly describes Bhagavān.

<sup>10</sup> kali-māla-saṁhati-kālano 'khileśo  
harir itaratra na gīyate hy abhīkṣṇam  
iha tu punar bhagavān aśeṣa-mūrtiḥ  
paripañhito 'nupadam kathā-prasaṅgaiḥ.  
(*Bhāgavata* 12.12.66)

*Result*

The fruit of reading the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is described in the second book: “Those who drink the nectar of the stories of Bhagavān, the soul of good people, and whose earholes are filled with that nectar, purify the mind, which is polluted by sense-objects, and go near his lotus feet.”<sup>11</sup>

Normally, the statement of result (*phala-śruti*) occurs at the end of a text, to inform readers (or listeners) of what rewards they can expect from their pious act. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also has such a statement at the end of the twelfth book. Still, Jīva selects a verse from much earlier in the *Purāṇa*, namely, the second chapter of the second book. Why does he not use the standard statement of the result at the end?

The context in which this verse appears may provide one reason for its selection. The conversation between Śukadeva and Parīkṣit, which lies at the core of the *Purāṇa*, begins in the second book. King Parīkṣit, who is awaiting death on the bank of the Ganges, asks Śukadeva Gosvāmī to tell him about the duty of one who is about to die. The sage’s initial and essential answer comprises the first two chapters of the second book. Jīva’s chosen result-verse occurs at the end of the second chapter, after which Śukadeva pauses and says, “Thus I have answered your question regarding the duty of a dying man” (2.3.1). In once sense, the *Bhāgavata* is complete at this point. Śukadeva has answered Parīkṣit’s desperate question, and, with the result-verse quoted above, assured him that his instructions will have the desired effect. Jīva’s chosen verse can thus also be seen as a statement of the result at the end of a text. The difference is that, in contrast to the twelfth book, the result-verse here carries more weight, for the proof of its efficacy can be seen in its surrounding narrative. The context of the verse adds power and reliability to its promises.

*Statement of praise*

The following verse serves as the commendatory statement:

He whom Brahmā, Varuṇa, Indra, Rudra and the Maruts praise with divine prayers; whom the Sāma-singers sing using Vedic hymns along with the subordinate divisions, progressive recitations, and

<sup>11</sup> pibanti ye bhagavata ātmanah satām  
kathāmrtaṁ śravaṇa-puṇeṣu sambhṛtam  
punanti te vidūṣitāśayam  
vrajanti tac-caraṇa-saroruhāntikam  
(*Bhāgavata* 2.2.37)

Śrīdhara Svāmī also identifies this verse as a description of the *śravaṇādi-phalam*, the fruit of hearing the *Bhāgavata*.

Upaniṣads; whom the yogīs see with a mind that is fixed in meditation upon him; whose limits the hosts of gods and demons do not know; to that Lord I bow down.<sup>12</sup>

Jīva Gosvāmī has very little to say on this verse. Its role as a commendatory statement is clear: Bhagavān (or the “*deva*”) is praised by all types of advanced beings, using various methods (prayer, hymn-recitation, meditation, and intellectual endeavor). The speaker, Sūta Gosvāmī, also glorifies the Lord by offering his obeisance. This verse appears in the final chapter of the *Bhāgavata*, as a pious invocation to the chapter and an auspicious conclusion to the *Purāṇa*.

### Reasoning

The reasoning or argument (*upapatti*) is provided by the following verse:

By physical objects [*dṛśyaiḥ*] such as the intelligence, by his own self [*svātmanā*], by characteristics [*lakṣaṇaiḥ*], and by arguments that lead one to make inferences [*anumāpakaiḥ*], Bhagavān Hari is perceived in all beings as the seer.<sup>13</sup>

This verse appears in the same context as the result-verse quoted above—Śukadeva Gosvāmī is concluding his answer to Parīkṣit’s query about the duty of a man about to die. Śukadeva’s final recommendation, given in the next verse, is that Bhagavān Hari (Kṛṣṇa) should be heard about, glorified and remembered by all people, everywhere, all the time. In order to do this, one must first of all understand the existence and nature of Bhagavān. This can be done by the methods listed in the verse quoted above. The creator Brahmā used these methods at the beginning of creation to study the Veda (verse 34) and came to the same conclusion, namely, that Bhagavān should be worshiped by *bhakti-yoga* (verse 33).

Jīva Gosvāmī gives a relatively lengthy and involved explanation of this verse, as one would expect for a verse that is regarded as the source of reasoning or argument (*upapatti*). The grammatical structure of the text

<sup>12</sup> yaṁ brahmā varuṇendra-rudra-marutaḥ stuvanti divyaiḥ stavair  
vedaiḥ sāṅga-pada-kramopaniṣadair gāyanti yaṁ sāmāgāḥ  
dhyānāvasthita-tad-gatena manasā paśyanti yaṁ yogino  
yasyāntaṁ na viduḥ surāsura-gaṇā devāya tasmai namaḥ  
(*Bhāgavata* 12.13.1)

<sup>13</sup> bhagavān sarvabhūteṣu lakṣitaḥ svātmanā hariḥ  
dṛśyair buddhyādibhir draṣṭā lakṣaṇair anumāpakaiḥ  
(*Bhāgavata* 2.2.35)



itself is quite simple. The subject (Bhagavān who is Hari who is the seer) is understood (*lakṣitaḥ*) by a number of means (*dr̥śyaiḥ*, *buddhyādibhiḥ*, *svātmanā*, *lakṣaṇaiḥ*, and *anumāpakaiḥ*). The challenge lies in determining how all these different items point to Bhagavān, and how they all relate to each other. Jīva divides the items into two groups: the *entities* whose existence leads us to conclude the existence and nature of Bhagavān, and the *methods of reasoning* by which we arrive at that conclusion. In the first group are three entities: physical objects (*dr̥śyaiḥ*)—such as the intelligence (*buddhyādibhiḥ*)—the individual living entity (*svātmanā*), and Bhagavān's own portion, the inner controller (also *svātmanā*). In the second group are the two logical categories of *lakṣaṇa* (characteristics) and *anumāpaka* (that which leads one to make inferences).

Jīva interprets the word “*lakṣaṇaiḥ*” (by characteristics) as referring to the use of *anupapattis*, or untenables—the opposite of *upapatti*, or proper reasoning. *Anupapatti* is a tool for argument by contradiction; if one can show that a particular viewpoint leads to a logically untenable position, then that viewpoint must be rejected.<sup>14</sup> The untenability can often be elicited by using the characteristics (*lakṣaṇas*) of the entities concerned. For example, Jīva attempts to show that the characteristics of the entities mentioned in the verse (physical objects, living entities, and the inner controller) lead to untenables that cannot be resolved without positing the existence of another entity, namely, Bhagavān. Jīva's specific untenables will be given below.

As for the second logical category mentioned in the verse—*anumāpakaiḥ*—Jīva understands it as a reference to the use of *vyāpti*, or invariable concomitance. Here is why: The word “*anumāpaka*” literally means “that which causes an inference (*anumāna*).” Most schools of Indian logic agree that *vyāpti*—the fact that the thing to be proved (*sādhya*) and the reason for its presence (*hetu*) are always found together—is one of the most important components of a successful inference (Kuppuswami 1961: 228). Take, for example, the following standard example: “This mountain has smoke; wherever there is smoke there is fire; therefore, the mountain has fire.” The second part of the inference, namely, the invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) of fire (the *sādhya*) and smoke (the *hetu*), is clearly the driving force here.

For his inferences, Jīva Gosvāmī uses a three-part syllogism structure: (1) the thesis to be proven (*pratijñā*); (2) the reason (*hetu*); and (3) the exemplification (*udāharaṇa*), which includes the invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*). Using the mountain example, we can structure a syllogism as follows: (1) The mountain has fire; (2) because it has smoke; and (3) whatever has

<sup>14</sup> The most famous instance of argumentation using *anupapattis* is found in Rāmānuja's Śrībhāṣya 1.1.1. See John Grimes, *The Seven Great Untenables* (1990).

smoke also has fire, as in a hearth.<sup>15</sup> Ironically, Jīva Gosvāmī does not explicitly state the *vyāpti* (in the third part)—it is so essential that it is obvious. For example, the first inference given below reads in Sanskrit, “*buddhyādīni kartṛprajyāni, karaṇatvād, vāsyādivat*.” Here, the thesis is “the intelligence, etc., are dependent upon an agent,” the reason is “because they are instruments,” and the example is “just like an axe, etc.” The unstated concomitance is “an instrument is always dependent upon an agent.” The thesis is typically in the nominative case, the reason is in the ablative, and the exemplification is a word ending in the suffix “*vat*” (“like”).

In order to arrive at the existence and status of Bhagavān, Jīva builds a hierarchy of entities mentioned in the verse—physical objects, living entities (*jīva*), the inner controller (*antaryāmī*), and Bhagavān—and then moves from one to the next using both untenability and inference. First, by examining the nature of the physical elements, he attempts to show the existence of the *jīva* as the actual seer and controller in the body. From the existence of the *jīva*, he deduces the presence of the *antaryāmī* as the instigator of activity, and from the *antaryāmī*, he arrives at Bhagavān. Here are the pairs of untenables and inferences which he uses to progress from one level to the next:

1 Physical objects reveal the *jīva* as seer:

- (a) Untenable: Without the self-luminous seer, it is not possible for the inert physical objects such as the intelligence to see.
- (b) Inference: The intelligence, etc., are dependent upon an agent, because they are instruments, just like an axe, etc.

2 The *jīva* reveals the existence of an inner controller (*antaryāmī*):

- (a) Untenable: Because one can see that the *jīvas* are not independent agents or enjoyers, and because *karma*, or activity, is also inert, therefore the *jīvas*' inclination for being the agent or enjoyer cannot take place without a particular, inner instigator.<sup>16</sup>
- (b) Inference: The *jīvas* are inspired by the instigating agent because they are not independent, just like woodcutters and other laborers.

<sup>15</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī is using a shortened version of the classical *parārtha-anumāna*, “inference for another,” which has two additional parts after the three given above. These are (4) the subsumptive correlation (*upanaya*) and (5) conclusion (*nigamana*). The former is the assertion that we indeed have a particular instance of the general rule here, e.g., “this mountain has smoke.” The latter states the specific result: “Therefore, this mountain has fire.” Some schools of logic, such as the Mīmāṃsakas, regard these two parts as superfluous. For a full discussion of the *parārtha-anumāna* and the debates surrounding it, see S. Kuppaswami Sastri's *A Primer of Indian Logic* (1961: 215–231).

<sup>16</sup> In other words, the impetus for activity cannot be located in the *jīva*, nor in the activity itself. Therefore, it must be found in the *antaryāmī*.

- 3 The *antaryāmī* reveals the existence of a yet superior being, Bhagavān:
- (a) Untenable: If someone superior enters the *jīvas* with *all* his portions, then he would not be the Lord (*īśvara*), because of the absence of completeness.<sup>17</sup>
  - (b) Inference: The not-very-influential *jīva*'s inner controller is the Lord (*īśvara*), and he is dependent upon his own source (Bhagavān). This is also due to completeness, just like the lordship of one who employs woodcutters and other laborers is (ultimately) dependent on the lordship of the king.

Thus, by dividing the contents of the argument-verse into two groups, and then pairing each entity in the first group with each item in the second group, we can get a total of six arguments establishing Bhagavān.

Before concluding his discussion of the sixth category, Jīva Gosvāmī pauses to make a slightly broader point. Not only do the entities and techniques mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* verse prove Bhagavān, but also any scripturally based method of reasoning will ultimately lead to Bhagavān. To illustrate his point, Jīva quotes another verse from the *Bhāgavata* (3.32.33): "Just as a single object, possessing many qualities, is perceived in different ways by the senses, so also is Bhagavān perceived by the different paths described in the scriptures." Jīva takes this as a statement of *gati-sāmānyam*, "sameness of destination" or "consistency of import." This principle of scriptural harmony is drawn from *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.11, "*gati-sāmānyāt*," which argues that Brahman (and not the living entities or the inert material aggregate) is the cause of the universe "because all the scriptures consistently state this to be the case." Demonstrating scriptural harmony is, of course, one of the primary tasks of the Vedāntic exegete, and each commentator has used his own unifying principle or theme to bring this about, whether it is the great statements (*mahā-vākyas*) of the Upaniṣads or the analogy of body and soul. Jīva Gosvāmī here makes Bhagavān the central axle of his theological system.

### *Satyam Param Dhūmahī: Vedānta in the first verse*

Jīva Gosvāmī's commentary on the first few *sūtras* of the *Brahma-sūtra* occurs within his explanation of the opening verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This is because, as we have seen, Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas regard the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the perfect and natural commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*. In the final section of the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, Jīva shows us what a *Bhāgavata*-based

<sup>17</sup> If the *antaryāmī* were the complete Bhagavān himself, it would mean that the Lord had exhausted all of himself in the creation. The *antaryāmī* is therefore only a secondary controller, a partial manifestation of Bhagavān for executing the functions of the creation.

commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* would look like by commenting on the first few *sūtras* using the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*.

Commenting on the beginning portion of a text in lieu of a full commentary is a fairly common shortcut method. In any *Brahma-sūtra* commentary, the explanation of the first four *sūtras*, called the *catuḥsūtrī ṭīkā*, is considered the most crucial part of the commentary. Such explanations are usually lengthy, detailed and indispensable. So also with commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the explanation of the first few verses are by far the most extensive and involved. For example, the sixteenth-century Advaitin, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, wrote a commentary on only the first verse called *Śrīmad-bhāgavata-prathama-śloka-vyākhyā*.

Jīva Gosvāmī is certainly not the first commentator to notice connections between the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahma-sūtra*. As early as the thirteenth century, Madhvācārya quotes a verse from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* ascribing the meaning of the *Brahma-sūtra* to the *Bhāgavata*:

This [*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*] is the meaning of the *Brahma-sūtras* and determines the meaning of the (*Mahā*) *Bhārata*. It is a commentary on the *Gāyatrī* and it is reinforced by the meaning of the Veda. It is the essence of the *Purāṇas*, and it is directly spoken by Bhagavān. It has twelve books, one hundred chapters, eighteen thousand verses, and the name “*Śrīmad-bhāgavatam*.”<sup>18</sup>

Jīva quotes these same verses in the *Tattva-sandarbha* and mentions the phrase “*artho 'yaṁ brahma-sūtrāṇām*” at the beginning of his *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā*, in order to highlight the reasonableness of his endeavor.<sup>19</sup> Next, in the fourteenth century, Śrīdhara Svāmī quotes *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.5 in his explanation of the word “*abhijñāḥ*” in the first verse:

So then, is the material aggregate [*pradhāna*] intended as the object of meditation (in this verse), since it is the cause of the world? That is ruled out. *Abhijñā* (the knowing one)—on him (we meditate). Because of the scriptural passage, “He thought, ‘Let me now create

<sup>18</sup> artho 'yaṁ brahma-sūtrāṇām bhāratārtha-vinirṇayaḥ  
gāyatrī-bhāṣya-rūpo 'sau vedārtha-paribṛmhitaḥ  
purāṇānām sāra-rūpaḥ śākṣād bhagavatoditaḥ  
dvādaśa-skandha-yukto 'yaṁ śata-viccheda-saṁyutaḥ  
granthoṣṭādaśa-sāhasraḥ śrīmad-bhāgavatābhidaḥ  
(*Bhāgavata-tātparya-nirṇaya* 1.1.1, p. 4)

<sup>19</sup> Jīva, however, reads “*sāma-rūpaḥ*” instead of “*sāra-rūpaḥ*,” giving the meaning, “It is the *Sāma-veda* among *Purāṇas*.”



the worlds.' He created these worlds." And also because of the rule, "īkṣater nāśabdam."<sup>20</sup>

There are other ways of explaining "abhijñā"—as simply "skillful" or "clever," for example. But here, Śrīdhara understands the word "abhijñā" as fulfilling the same purpose in the first verse as "īkṣater nāśabdam" does in the *Brahma-sūtra*: it denies the possibility of an insentient creator. This is a distinctly Vedāntic concern, and to ascribe such intentionality to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is nothing short of regarding it as a self-consciously Vedāntic text.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, one can hardly avoid making connections with the *Brahma-sūtra*, given the language of the first verse. Phrases such as "janmādy asya yataḥ," "anvayād itarataś ca," "trisargo 'mṛṣā," and "satyaṁ param," have obvious Vedāntic connotations and provide a mine of possibilities for any commentator.<sup>22</sup> It seems, however, that Jīva Gosvāmī was the first to fully capitalize on these interpretive opportunities in his *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* and, to a lesser degree, the *Krama-sandarbhā* (his running commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*). Jīva draws a word-for-word correlation between the first verse and the first five *sūtras* of the *Brahma-sūtra*, sparing no pains to substantiate his theses with profuse quotations from the Upaniṣads.

Let us now take a quick look at Jīva's system of connections with the *Brahma-sūtra*, in order to gain an overall understanding of the structure of his commentary. In Table 4.1, the right-hand column lists words or phrases from the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*, while the left-hand column gives the words from the *Brahma-sūtras* which are explained by them.

A similar table can be made for the theological concepts and debates that Jīva finds embedded in the first verse (see Table 4.2).

As one would expect from a Vedāntic commentator, Jīva supports his arguments mainly with quotations from the Upaniṣads, which are in fact the *vedānta*, or conclusion of the Vedas. Here, we can also chart the Upaniṣadic passages that Jīva correlates with the first verse (Table 4.3). Several of these passages are the *viśaya-vākyas* (statements under consideration) for the *sūtras* listed above.

<sup>20</sup> tarhi kiṁ pradhānam jagat-kāraṇatvād dhyeyam abhipretam netyāha. abhijñā yas tam. "sa īkṣata lokān nu sṛjā iti. sa imāṁś lokān asṛjata" iti śruteḥ. "īksater nāśabdam" iti nyāyāc ca.

(*Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* 1.1.1)

<sup>21</sup> Madhusūdana Sarasvatī makes extensive use of the *Brahma-sūtra* in his commentary on the first verse. He was probably a junior contemporary of Jīva, however, and so his influence on him is unlikely.

<sup>22</sup> It is, of course, not necessary that one makes connections with Vedānta, despite the ample opportunity. See, for example, the *Caitanya-mata-maṅjuṣā*, a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* by Śrīnātha Cakravartī, the guru of Kavikarṇapūra. Cakravartī reads the first verse solely in terms of Kṛṣṇa's qualities and activities, with no mention of any Vedāntic issues.

Table 4.1 Correlation between the first five *sūtras* of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

<i>Brahma-sūtra</i>	<i>First verse of the Bhāgavata</i>
<i>athātāḥ</i> <i>brahma</i>	<i>satyam</i> <i>param</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brahman's <i>svatūpa-lakṣaṇa</i></li> <li>• Brahman's <i>taṭastha-lakṣaṇa</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>dhāmnā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakam</i></li> <li>• <i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i></li> </ul>
<i>jijñāsā</i> <i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i> <i>śūtra-yonitvāt</i> <i>śūstrayonitvāt</i> (Śaṅkara's 2nd interpretation) <i>tat tu samanvayāt</i> <i>tat tu samanvayāt</i> (Madhva's interpretation) <i>īksater nāśabdām</i> <i>īkṣater nāśabdām</i> (Madhva's interpretation)	<i>dhūmahī</i> <i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i> <i>anvayād itarataś cārtheṣu</i> <i>tene brahma hṛdā ya ādi-kavaye</i> <i>anvayād itarataś cārtheṣu</i> <i>mūhyanti yat sūrayaḥ</i> <i>abhijñāḥ svarāt</i> <i>abhijñāḥ svarāt</i>

Table 4.2 Vedāntic discussions from the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

<i>Vedāntic discussions</i>	<i>First verse of the Bhāgavata</i>
Refutation of Advaita—theory of superimposition ( <i>adhyāsa</i> or <i>āropa</i> ) and the falsity of the creation	<i>tejo-vāri-mṛdāṇi yathā</i> <i>vinimayo yatra trisargo</i> <i>'mṛṣā and janmādy asya</i> <i>yataḥ dhūmahī</i>
Refutation of Advaita—doctrine of one soul ( <i>eka-jīva-vāda</i> ) and the doctrine of illusion ( <i>vivarta-vāda</i> )	
<i>karma-jñāna-samuccaya</i> , or the necessity of proficiency in <i>karma</i> for knowledge of Brahman	<i>satyam</i>
Brahman possesses essential <i>śaktis</i>	<i>dhāmnā svena and svarāt</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bhagavān's personal or internal energy (<i>svatūpa</i> or <i>antaraṅgā śakti</i>)</li> <li>• the external or deluding energy (<i>bahiraṅgā</i> or <i>māyā śakti</i>)</li> <li>• the living entities (<i>taṭasthā</i> or <i>jīva śakti</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>dhāmnā svena</i></li> <li>• <i>kuhakam</i></li> <li>• <i>dhūmahī</i></li> </ul>
Brahman's <i>śaktis</i> and qualities are non-material tri-partition of the elements ( <i>trivṛt-karṇa</i> )	<i>sadā nirasta-kuhakam</i> <i>tejo-vāri-mṛdāṇi yathā</i> <i>vinimayaḥ</i> <i>svarāt and janmādy</i> <i>asya yataḥ</i> <i>dhūmahī</i>
Brahman has a non-material form	
Bhagavān is the highest human goal ( <i>parama-puṣārtha</i> )	

Table 4.3 Correlation between various Upaniṣadic passages and the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

<i>Upaniṣadic texts (in order of appearance)</i>	<i>First verse of the Bhāgavata</i>
<i>Chāndogya</i> 8.1.6: <i>tad yattheha karma-jito lokaḥ kṣīyate . . .</i> (on the temporariness of the fruits of <i>karma</i> )	<i>satyam</i>
<i>Śvetāśvatara</i> 5.9: <i>sa cānantyāya kalpate</i> (on the permanence of knowledge of Brahman)	<i>satyam</i>
<i>Muṇḍaka</i> 3.1.3: <i>nirañjanaḥ paramaṁ sāmyam upaiti</i>	<i>satyam</i>
<i>Taittirīya</i> 2.1.2: <i>satyaṁ jñānam anantaṁ brahma</i>	<i>satyam and dhāmnā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakam</i>
<i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka</i> 3.9.28: <i>vijñānam ānantaṁ brahma</i>	<i>dhāmnā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakam</i>
<i>Taittirīya</i> 3.1.1: <i>yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante . . .</i>	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ and trisargo 'mṛṣā</i>
<i>Chāndogya</i> 6.3.4 and 6.4.1 (tripartition): <i>imās tisro devatās ekaikā bhavati . . .</i>	<i>tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ yathā vinimayaḥ</i>
<i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka</i> 2.1.20: <i>satyasya satyam iti . . .</i>	<i>trisargo 'mṛṣā</i>
<i>Chāndogya</i> 6.2.3: <i>tat tejosrjata</i>	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i>
<i>Muṇḍaka</i> 1.1.9: <i>yaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvavid . . .</i>	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i>
<i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka</i> 4.4.22: <i>sarvasya vaśi</i>	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i>
<i>Śvetāśvatara</i> 6.8: <i>na tasya kāryaṁ kāraṇaṁ ca . . .</i>	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ and svarāḥ</i>
<i>Śvetāśvatara</i> 9.9: <i>sa kāraṇaṁ . . .</i>	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i>
<i>Taittirīya</i> 2.1.2, 3.6.1, and 2.1.3; <i>Chāndogya</i> 6.2.1, 6.8.7, and 6.2.3; <i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka</i> 1.4.10, and 1.4.1—all catophatic statements describing Brahman in positive ways	<i>anvayāt</i>
<i>Chāndogya</i> 6.2.2 and <i>Taittirīya</i> 2.7.1—apophatic statements	<i>itarataḥ (vyatirekāt)</i>
<i>Chāndogya</i> 6.2.1–3: <i>tad aikṣata bahu syām prajāyeya . . .</i>	<i>abhijñāḥ</i>
<i>Aitareya</i> 1.1.1–2: <i>sa aikṣata . . .</i>	<i>abhijñāḥ</i>
<i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka</i> 2.4.10: <i>evaṁ vā aresya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam . . .</i> (The Vedas and other scriptures are the breath of the Great Being)	<i>tene brahma hṛdā ya ādikavaye</i>
<i>Śvetāśvatara</i> 6.1.8: <i>yo brahmāṇaṁ vidadhāti pūrvaṁ . . .</i>	<i>tene brahma hṛdā ya ādikavaye</i>
<i>Śvetāśvatara</i> 3.19: <i>sa vetti viśvaṁ nāhi tasya vetti</i>	<i>muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ</i>

Besides the Vedāntic connections, another correlation that proves irresistible to commentators is with the *Gāyatrī mantra*.<sup>23</sup> The word “*dhīmahi*” at the very end of the first verse is a clear indication to most writers that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* intends to explicate the meaning of the *Gāyatrī*. After all, is not the proper classical form for the first person plural optative “*dhyāyema?*” Furthermore, the *Purāṇa* also ends with “*dhīmahi*,” signifying that the entire text was expounding on the *Gāyatrī*.

As we saw above, the verses quoted by Madhva from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* include the *Gāyatrī* as one of the texts elucidated by the *Bhāgavata*. Śrīdhara Svāmī quotes verses from two other *Purāṇas* in this regard:

“*Dhīmahi*”—by beginning with the *Gāyatrī*, it is shown that this *Purāṇa* consists of that Brahman-knowledge called *Gāyatrī*. As it is said in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, during the discussion of donating a *Purāṇa*, “That text which is based on the *Gāyatrī*, which describes all the details of *dharma*, and which has (the story of) the killing of *Vṛtrāsura* is called the *Bhāgavata*.”<sup>24</sup> . . . And in another *Purāṇa*, “That book which has eighteenth thousand verses and twelve books, where the Brahman-knowledge of Hayagrīva and the killing of *Vṛtra* are described, and which begins with the *Gāyatrī*—the wise know it as the *Bhāgavata*.”<sup>25</sup>

Śrīdhara also says that the line “*tene brahma hr̥dā ya ādi-kavaye*,” (“he revealed the Veda to the first sage through the heart”) elucidates the meaning of the *Gāyatrī*.<sup>26</sup> The *Gāyatrī* is a prayer asking the Lord to inspire the intelligence, and the first being to be thus inspired was Brahṁā. Since he received the four-verse *Bhāgavata* at the beginning of creation, the *Bhāgavata* can be considered a form of the *Gāyatrī*.

<sup>23</sup> The *Gāyatrī mantra* is hymn 3.62.10 of the *Rg Veda*.

<sup>24</sup> The phrase “*yatrādhikṛtya gāyatrīm*” is also found in the *Agni Purāṇa* (272.6), to which Jīva credits the verse when he quotes it in the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* (105).

<sup>25</sup> *dhīmahiṭi gāyatrīyā prārambheṇa ca gāyatrī-ākhyā-brahma-vidyā-rūpam etat purāṇam iti darśitam. yathoktam matsya-purāṇe purāṇa-dāna-prastāve ‘yatrādhikṛtya gāyatrīm varṇyate dharma-vistarāḥ. vṛtrāsura-vadhopedam tad bhāgavatam iṣyate. . . purāṇāntare ca ‘granthoṣṭādaśa-sāhasro dvādaśa-skandha-sammitaḥ. hayagrīva-brahma-vidyā yatra vṛtra-vadhas tathā. gāyatrīyā ca samārambhas tad vai bhāgavatam viduḥ.*

(*Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* 1.1.1)

Jīva reads “*vadhotsiktam*” (drenched with the killing of *Vṛtra*) in place of “*vadhopedam*.”

<sup>26</sup> *tat tu hr̥dā manasaiva tene vistr̥tavān. anena buddhi-vṛtti-pravartakatvena gāyatrī-artho darśitaḥ.*



Jīva Gosvāmī follows Śrīdhara closely in this discussion, repeating all of his quotations from other Purāṇas. In particular, Jīva seizes the phrase “*yatrādhikṛtya gāyatrīm*” (“that text which is based on the *Gāyatrī*”), and attempts to show that both the *Gāyatrī* and the *Bhāgavata* have Bhagavān as their primary subject matter. The *Gāyatrī* is the root-text, he argues, from which the *Bhāgavata* arises and upon which it comments. Jīva explains the meaning of the *Gāyatrī* twice in the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, first in the *Tattva-sandarbha*, and then in our passage at the end of the *Paramātma-sandarbha*. In both places, he quotes a series of verses from the *Agni Purāṇa* that explains the *Gāyatrī* word-by-word. Only in the *Paramātma-sandarbha*, however, does he make an explicit correlation with the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*. We can present his scheme as shown in Table 4.4.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, at the very end of his explanation of the first verse, Jīva connects the verse with all four chapters of the *Brahma-sūtra* (Table 4.5) and the ten topics addressed by a major Purāṇa (Table 4.6).<sup>28</sup>

The point of these far-reaching correlations is not so much that the first verse explains them in full, but that the “seeds” or hints of them are present here. Jīva does not spend much time justifying these correlations; by this point he expects the reader to be able to see his reasoning and ponder its full implications.

Table 4.4 Correlation between the *Gāyatrī* mantra and the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

<i>Gāyatrī</i>	<i>First verse of the Bhāgavata</i>
<i>om</i>	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i>
<i>bhūr bhuvahḥ svaḥ tat</i>	<i>yatra trisargo ‘mṛṣā</i>
<i>savitṛ</i>	<i>svarāḥ</i>
<i>vareṇyam bhargah</i>	<i>param</i>
<i>dhīmahi</i>	<i>dhīmahi</i>
<i>dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt</i>	<i>tene brahma hṛdā yaḥ</i>

<sup>27</sup> Rādhāmohana Tarkavācaspati, a Gauḍīya commentator from the eighteenth century, gives a different schema in his commentary on the first verse. The correlations are as follows: *savitṛ*—*janmādy asya yataḥ*; *vareṇyam*—*param*; *bhargah*—*satyam*; *devasya*—*svarāḥ*; *dhīmahi*—*dhīmahi*; and *dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*—*tene brahma hṛdā ya ādi-kavaye* (Joshi 1964: 387).

<sup>28</sup> These are listed in the second book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. For a discussion of the ten topics or characteristics (in contrast to the five usually described), see the notes to my translation of the relevant section in Jīva Gosvāmī’s *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā*. For a thorough study of the five characteristics as they are found in the major Purāṇas, see *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa* by Willibald Kirfel (1927).

Table 4.5 Correlation between the chapters of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

Chapters of the <i>Brahma-sūtra</i>	First Verse of the <i>Bhāgavata</i>
<i>Samanvayādhyāya</i>	<i>anvayād itarataś ca</i>
<i>Avirodhādhyāya</i>	<i>muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ</i>
<i>Sādhanaādhyāya</i>	<i>dhīmahi</i>
<i>Phalādhyāya</i>	<i>satyaṁ param</i>

Table 4.6 Characteristics of a *Purāṇa* embedded in the first verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

Ten characteristics of a <i>Purāṇa</i>	First verse of the <i>Bhāgavata</i>
creation, secondary creation, maintenance, and destruction ( <i>sarga, visarga, sthāna, and nirodha</i> ). The reigns of the Manus ( <i>manvantara</i> ) and the activities of the Lord ( <i>īśānukathā</i> ) are included in maintenance	<i>janmādy asya yataḥ</i>
nourishment ( <i>poṣaṇa</i> ) impetus ( <i>ūti</i> ) liberation ( <i>mukti</i> )	<i>tene brahma hṛdā ya ādi-kavaye muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ dhāmmā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakam</i>
shelter ( <i>āśraya</i> )	<i>satyaṁ param</i>

## Conclusion

As we can see from the preceding pages, Jīva Gosvāmī takes great delight in drawing a world of meaning from a single verse, and then arranging those meanings into a systematic theology of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Such delight and fearless exegesis arise from a deep conviction in the inherent value and profundity of his text, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Indeed, such conviction is the defining characteristic of a religious reader and commentator. Paul Griffiths describes this well in *Religious Reading*:

The first and most basic element in these relations [between religious readers and their works] is that the work read is understood as a stable and vastly rich resource, one that yields meaning, suggestions (or imperatives) for action, matter for aesthetic wonder, and much else. It is a treasure house, an ocean, a mine: the deeper religious readers dig, the more ardently they fish, the more single-mindedly they seek gold, the greater will be their reward... There can, according to these metaphors, be no final act of reading in which everything is uncovered, in which the mine of gold has yielded all

its treasure or the fish pool has been emptied of fish. Reading, for religious readers, ends only with death, and perhaps not then: it is a continuous, ever-repeated act.

(1999: 41)

For religious readers, the variety and depth of meaning in a sacred text are limited only by the limitations of the human intellect. Thus, we find Śrīdhara Svāmī reflecting before beginning his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*: “Where am I, so slow-witted? And where is this task of churning the ocean of milk? Indeed, what will an atom do where even Mount Mandara sinks?”<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Śrīdhara dives into the ocean, confident that the Lord will support his endeavor, even as he supported the Mandara Mountain.

Just as it is the nature of religious readers to continuously draw fresh insights from what they read, so it is the job of the commentator to make this possible. The act of commentary is one kind of religious reading, wherein the commentator aids other readers in extending and deepening their involvement with the text. We may recall Jonathan Z. Smith’s oft-quoted statement: “Where there is a canon we can predict the necessary occurrence of a hermeneute, of an interpreter whose task it is to continually extend the domain of the closed canon over everything that is known or everything that is” (1978: 23). We have already seen this at work in our situation. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the most important member of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava canon, and the first verse is one of its essentials components. Thus, we find that Jīva Gosvāmī, the chief interpreter of his tradition, extends the domain of the first verse over the entire range of sacred Sanskrit literature—the *Brahma-sūtra*, Upaniṣads, *Gāyatrī*, Purāṇas, *Mahābhārata* and, ultimately, the Vedas. Each word of the first verse becomes the repository for a whole body of texts, concepts, discussions, and debates. Indeed, the conviction that one’s canon is “comprehensive and all-encompassing, that it contains all significant learning and truth,” is, according to John Henderson, “the most universal and widely expressed commentarial assumption regarding the character of almost any canon” (1991: 89).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> kvāhaṁ manda-matiḥ kvedaṁ manthanam ksīra-vāri-dheḥ  
kiṁ tatra paramāṇur vai yatra majjati mandaraḥ  
(*Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* 1.1.1)

Śrīdhara is referring to the churning of the ocean of milk carried out cooperatively by the gods and demons for the purpose of extracting the elixir of immortality. The Mandara Mountain was to serve as a churning rod, but it kept sinking into the ocean’s unfathomable depths. Viṣṇu then descended as the tortoise (Kūrma) and held up the mountain on his back.

<sup>30</sup> Henderson identifies two other widely held commentarial assumptions regarding the character of canons, namely, that they are well ordered and coherent (1991: 106), and they are self-consistent (ibid.: 115). Both of these are, of course, extremely important assumptions, or rather theses requiring demonstration, for Vedāntic commentators.

Furthermore, this "vision of cosmic comprehensiveness, or of totality and wholeness," says Henderson,

[is not] simply an illusion that strikes only the eye of the committed or faithful beholder or the confirmed exegete. For, as a general rule, the works that are selected for canonization in various traditions do have a wide scope and, in some cases, an almost encyclopedic character. (ibid.: 89–90)

The *Brahma-sūtras*, for example, in their terse and obscure style, cover—or at least make room to discuss—the entire range of Upaniṣadic teachings, a wide variety of Vedāntic doctrines, and numerous opposing viewpoints. In the same vein, the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* covers as much ground as is possible for a single verse. The meter is the nineteen-syllabled *śārdūla-vikṛīḍitam*, the individual phrases in each line are terse and difficult like *sūtras*, and the overall meaning ranges from creation to revelation to meditation.

Still, what is interesting in the case of commentaries on both the *Brahma-sūtra* and the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*, and what Henderson fails to note, is the attempt to find comprehensiveness and all-inclusiveness in as small a space as possible. The desire to boil everything down to its most concentrated form, to distill the very essence, is a typically Indian commentarial drive. Thus, we find innumerable "four-verse" groups that are purported to contain and convey the meaning of the entire text: the four-verse *Bhāgavata*, the four-verse *Bhagavad-gītā*, the four-*sūtra* *Brahma-sūtra*, and so on. Furthermore, as a general principle of exegesis, it is often said that one should be able to find the meaning of the entire work in its first verse.<sup>31</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī follows this principle in correlating the ten characteristics of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* with its first verse. Similarly, he finds all four chapters of the *Brahma-sūtra* present in the first verse, even though he has already used it to comment upon the first five *sūtras*.

This attempt to correlate the large and small, the macro and the micro, is not so much about *explaining* the text as it is about showing its universal *applicability*. As we noted above, Jīva offers very little explanation of his choice of connections with the *Gāyatrī*, the ten topics of a *Purāṇa*, or the chapters of the *Brahma-sūtra*. He is happy simply to note that all of these are somehow latent in the *Bhāgavata*'s first verse. Nor do these connections further elucidate the meaning of the verse itself; that was done exhaustively earlier in the passage, when Jīva commented upon the five *sūtras*. The purpose of their presence, rather, is to show that the *Bhāgavata* is applicable

<sup>31</sup> For example, Govindarāja, in his commentary on the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, elicits the entire story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Vālmīki's curse on the hunter who killed one of a pair of cranes. This curse took the form of a single verse in *anuṣṭubh* meter, and provided Vālmīki with the poetical inspiration to compose the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the same meter.



beyond the range of its immediate meaning, to all areas of scriptural learning. Indeed, Griffiths identifies application as one of the most common purposes of commentary, wherein the commentator is interested “to offer suggestions or recommendations as to how the work commented upon might be used, applied, or deployed” (1999: 90).<sup>32</sup>

Even here, however, things are not as simple as they seem. By the time one reaches the end of section 105 in the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, one wonders what is being applied to what—whether the *Bhāgavata*’s first verse is commenting upon the *Brahma-sūtras*, Upaniṣads, and *Gāyatrī*, or the other way around. Although we know from Caitanyite theology that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is considered a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, we also know that the entire section 105, including Jīva’s *Catuṣsūtrī Tīkā*, is meant to explain the meaning of the *Bhāgavata* (using the six indicators). So is the *Bhāgavata* elucidating the meaning of the *Brahma-sūtra*, or is the *Brahma-sūtra* explaining the *Bhāgavata*? Which is the commentary, and which is the root text (*mūla*)?

Indeed, at this point in the history of Sanskrit literature, the answer is not so clear. Beyond the *Bhāgavata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Purāṇas* in general have been regarded as clarifying, expanding, and supporting the meaning of the earlier literature—Vedas, Upaniṣads, and Vedānta. Indeed, the *smṛti* literature sees itself in that role.<sup>33</sup> We saw the phrase “*vedārthaparibṛñhitam*,” “reinforced by (or furnished with) the meaning of the Veda,” in the verses from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* cited by Madhva. There is also the traditional half-verse found in the *Mahābhārata*: “*itihāsa-purāṇābhyāṃ vedam samupabṛñhayet*,” “One should reinforce the Veda with the *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* [*Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*].” Govindarāja, a Śrīvaiṣṇava commentator on the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, states at the beginning of his commentary,

This work reinforces the Veda (*vedopabṛñhāṇa-rūpaḥ*) and reinforces the meaning of the Vedānta (*vedāntārtham upabṛñhayati*), for there is the statement, “As a general rule, the Dharma-śāstra relates the meaning of the previous part (i.e., the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*), and the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* reveal the meaning of the Vedānta.”<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> However, Griffiths describes application only in terms of exhortation or recommendation—applying the text to human activity. He does not account for instances such as ours, where the text is applied to areas of learning rather than activity.

<sup>33</sup> The term “*smṛti*” (“remembered”) refers to the corpus of sacred literature other than the Vedas and Upaniṣads, which are known collectively as *śruti* (“heard”).

<sup>34</sup> *ayaṃ ca prabandho vedopabṛñhāṇa-rūpo vedāntārtham upabṛñhayati. “prāyeṇa pūrva-bhāgārtho dharmā-śāstreṇa kathyate. itihāsa-purāṇābhyāṃ vedāntārthah prakāśyate” iti vacanāt.*

(*Bhūṣaṇa* commentary on *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.5.1, p. 84)

By the late medieval period, however, the balance of power in the *śruti-smṛti* relationship had begun to shift, so that the Purāṇas were now “reinforcing” or “supporting” the Vedas in the sense of holding them up or bearing their weight. Christopher Minkowski, in his study of Nīlakaṇṭha's works, has called this phenomenon “an inversion of the principle of up-abṛmhaṇa” (2002b: 18). Nīlakaṇṭha, the seventeenth-century author of the famous *Bhārata-bhāva-dīpa* commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, wrote several works in the genre called *Mantra-rahasya-prakāśa*, in which he attempted to show how the storyline of a particular Purāṇa could be found in the verses of the *Ṛgveda*. Examples include the *Mantra-kāśi-khaṇḍa* (eliciting the *Skanda Purāṇa*'s glorification of Kāśī from the *Ṛgveda*), the *Mantra-bhāgavata* (eliciting the story of Kṛṣṇa from the *Ṛgveda*), and the *Mantra-rāmāyaṇa*. Although at first glance it seems as though Nīlakaṇṭha is simply strengthening the authority of Purāṇic narratives by grounding them in the Veda, in reality, Minkowski argues, the exact opposite is taking place.<sup>35</sup> The reversal is especially true in the case of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*:

We have come far afield from using a Purāṇic story to explain an elliptical *Ṛgvedic* one. It rather appears to be the reverse—the *Ṛgvedic* verse explains a Purāṇic story . . . Purāṇic episode y becomes the foundation for Vedic verse x, its bolster and the justification for its reading. This is not amplification of the Vedas, but support of them in a different sense. In the historically changed context, it is the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which had grown so influential in Nīlakaṇṭha's era, that can bolster the Vedas, and not the other way around.

(ibid.: 18–19)

In fact, the *Bhāgavata* had achieved precedence much before Nīlakaṇṭha's time, owing to the influence of Caitanya's and Vallabha's movements. Indeed, Jīva Gosvāmī is a pace-setter and early protagonist of this *śruti-smṛti* reversal process. By establishing the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the scripture *par excellence* in the *Tattva-sandarbha*, and using the *Purāṇa* as the sole basis of his entire system, Jīva effectively subordinates all scriptural knowledge to the *Bhāgavata*. Thus, by the time we reach the end of the *Paramātma-sandarbha* we are in the interesting situation mentioned above: the *Brahma-sūtra* is being used to explain the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*, which

<sup>35</sup> Minkowski reaches this conclusion after a careful analysis of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Harivaṁśa* and his various *Mantra-rahasya* texts. For details, see “Nīlakaṇṭha's Vedic Readings in the *Harivaṁśa* Commentary” (2002b) and “Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara and the Genre of *Mantrarahasyaprakāśikā*” (1999). I am grateful to Minkowski for providing me access to these as yet unpublished articles.

is itself meant to be a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Or, to put it another way, we have a *Bhāgavata*-based commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* in the middle of a passage that is meant to be explaining the *Bhāgavata*.

This close dialogue between the Vedāntic and Purāṇic traditions is one of the outstanding achievements of Jīva Gosvāmī. As Minkowski writes in regard to the Mantra-rahasya texts, “Nīlakaṇṭha’s innovation lies not in newness of technique or of knowledge, but in the way existing techniques and knowledges are taken together, across what we would today call ‘disciplinary boundaries,’ in the service of a new purpose” (1999: 25). Much the same can be said of Jīva Gosvāmī and his *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*. As a theologian writing even earlier than Nīlakaṇṭha, Jīva was situated on the cusp between a solid and time-tested heritage of Sanskrit Vedāntic exegesis and a fresh yet powerful tide of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, much of which was being expressed in vernacular languages. With training in, and commitments to, both traditions, Jīva was able to tie them together by employing yet a third stream of theological writing—the Purāṇic commentarial tradition, or more specifically, commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. In the process, Jīva was able to bring into dialogue such diverse thinkers as Rāmānuja, Madhva, Śaṅkara, and Śrīdhara, and still produce a distinctly Caitanya Vaiṣṇava system of theology.





Part II

JĪVA GOSVĀMĪ'S  
*CATUḤSŪTRĪ ṬĪKĀ*



## HISTORY OF THE WRITTEN TEXT

### The manuscript tradition

The passage selected here for editing comprises the final one-seventh of the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*. This section of the text has no independent manuscript tradition apart from the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, or for that matter, from the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā* as a whole, nor has it ever been published on its own. It does, however, form a cohesive and potentially self-standing section within the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*. The scope of the passage is delimited by Jīva Gosvāmī's application of the six indicators of meaning (*tātparya-liṅga*) to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in order to determine its ultimate import. Thus, the passage begins with the opening verse of the *Bhāgavata* and ends with the verse Jīva has selected as the argument (*upapatti*). Beyond the explanation of the sixth indicator, there is only one sentence which concludes the entire Sandarbha: "*pratyavasthāpitam vadantīty ādi padyam*," "The verse beginning with 'vadanti' has been firmly established."

Manuscripts of Caitanya Vaiṣṇava texts are found in highest concentration in three geographical regions: West Bengal, Vraja (the region around Vṛndāvana), and Eastern Rajasthan (Figure 5).<sup>1</sup> All three locations have been centers of influence for the movement—the first two during Caitanya's lifetime and the third during the rule of the Kacchvāha Rājput kings in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The oldest manuscripts of the Gosvāmīs' works are

<sup>1</sup> Purī, Orissa, would also likely be a high-density area for Caitanya Vaiṣṇava manuscripts, given Caitanya's continuous residence there during the last eighteen years of his life, and the royal patronage bestowed by the Gajapati king, Pratāparudra. Very little fieldwork has been done in that region, however, and I do not have access to any catalogues of manuscripts from Purī temples. During Jīva's lifetime, the Gosvāmīs' works were sent first to the devotees in Bengal, care of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, from where they found their way to the rest of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava world.

<sup>2</sup> During Aurangzeb's rampages through the Vraja region in the late seventeenth centuries, many of the images of Kṛṣṇa being worshiped there were moved to Rajasthan for refuge. With the Deities came their priests, providers and scholars. Most of the Kacchvāha kings had Vaiṣṇava tendencies, and Mahārāja Jaisingh, in particular, established the image of Govindadeva as the presiding Deity of Jaipur and bestowed royal patronage upon



*Figure 5* The temple of Rādhā-Dāmodara in Jaipur, Rajasthan, which houses the original image of Kṛṣṇa worshiped by Jīva Gosvāmī.

Source: Photograph by Shyamal Krishna

generally found in Vṛndāvana, due, in large part, to the preservation efforts of temple libraries. Many of these are housed today in the Vrindaban Research Institute (VRI). According to Dr. Tarapada Mukherjee, who catalogued many of the Institute's manuscripts, the bulk of significant manuscripts

Govindadeva's Caitanyite priests. For an account of the royal involvement with the worship of Govindadeva, see Burton, "Temples, Texts and Taxes" (2000); Case, *Govindadeva: A Dialogue in Stone* (1996); and Horstmann, *In Favour of Govinddevjī* (1999).



came from the collection of the Rādhā-Dāmodara temple. This was Jīva's personal library, and it may have housed the collections of the other Gosvamis as well. Jan Brzezinski writes:

Rūpa stayed at Rādhā Dāmodara in his last days. His *bhajan kutir* [place of worship] was there. One would naturally expect that he should give his collection of manuscripts to his successor, Jīva. From several *dalils* (testimonials) of the period, it is clear that the official library (*pustak thaur*) of the school was there.

(1991: 473)

There is evidence that Raghunatha Dāsa Gosvami, a resident of Rādhā Kuṇḍa, also bequeathed his library to Jīva.<sup>3</sup>

The oldest known Sandarbha manuscript—a copy of the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* dated to *saṁvat* 1746 (1689 AD), eighty years after Jīva's lifetime—is housed in the Vrindaban Research Institute. Many of the VRI manuscripts however, date only from the 1800s, when there was a mass recopying of texts in the Rādhā-Dāmodara library in an effort to preserve them from decay.

By far the best-preserved Sandarbha manuscripts are found in Rajasthan, due in large part to the arid desert climate and the preservation efforts of the government-run Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute. Unsurprisingly, most of these texts are dated to the eighteenth century, when the Caitanya movement exerted most influence in the region.<sup>4</sup> Bengali manuscripts of the Sandarbhas, or more specifically, manuscripts found in Kolkata, are less carefully preserved (often due to neglect or unfavorable climate conditions). They are found in both Devanāgarī and Bengali scripts, with the Bengali ones usually of more recent provenance.<sup>5</sup>

The *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* manuscript tradition is relatively stable; large omissions or variations are not common.<sup>6</sup> In his edition of the Sandarbhas,

<sup>3</sup> The information given here on the provenance of the VRI manuscripts comes from personal correspondence with Dr. Jan Brzezinski, a student of the late Tarapada Mukherjee.

<sup>4</sup> One of my Jodhpur manuscripts (J<sub>1</sub>) is dated *saṁvat* 1820 (1763 AD), which would place it near the end of Mahārāja Jaisingh's reign. The colophon says that it was written in the temple of Śrī Vijāgopālājī in Jaipur by Vyāsa Harilāla. "Vijayagopāla" was the name given to Govindadeva after the Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas' victory in the debate with the Rāmānandīs at Jaisingh's court (Wright and Wright 1993).

<sup>5</sup> This assessment is based on my own visits to various manuscript collections in Rajasthan and Kolkata. Although my research was focused primarily on manuscripts of the Sandarbhas, I believe my observations could be applied to the larger body of Caitanya Vaiṣṇava texts.

<sup>6</sup> The exception to this is the *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*. Chinmayī Chatterjee's Jadavpur University Press edition notes that the text "is full of doubts and discrepancies. Manuscripts are not always complete. Difference of readings is major in certain cases" (ii). Brzezinski concurs, and suggests that Jīva Gosvāmī himself may have revised the work (1990: 26).

Purīdāsa Mahāśaya identifies twenty-five locations in the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* and twelve in the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* where manuscripts differ in a significant way, that is, by variant readings or omissions of more than two lines of Jīva's own words (and not simply substantiating quotations). In the passage I have selected for editing, Purīdāsa does not identify any significant differences, although my own work has uncovered a couple of such locations.

The relatively recent composition of the Sandarbhas and their exclusive use within sectarian circles are probably reasons for the texts' stability in the manuscript tradition. "[W]ithin limited geographical regions, and language groups with their own script, textual transmission tends ( . . . this is a tendency and not a necessity) to be comparatively protected from serious contamination" (Vasudeva 2000: xix). Although in our case, the main scripts in use were Devanāgarī and Bengali, both widely employed in North India, the area of distribution was contained within the geographical limits of the Caitanya movement. The most frequent type of meaningful variation involves the inclusion or omission of quotations that Jīva uses to substantiate his line of argument. The Asiatic Society manuscript (K<sub>1</sub>), stands out in this regard, often omitting or paraphrasing Upaniṣadic quotations. While K<sub>1</sub> is closely related to the first Jodhpur manuscript (J<sub>1</sub>), it is nevertheless unique in its tendency to avoid "extra" proof texts.

As the critical apparatus shows, the available witnesses naturally fall into two groups—the Alwar (A<sub>1</sub>), Vṛndāvana (V<sub>1</sub>), and second Jodhpur (J<sub>2</sub>) manuscript in one group, and the Asiatic Society (K<sub>1</sub>) and first Jodhpur (J<sub>1</sub>) manuscripts in another. The Dhaka manuscript (D) seems to alternate between the two sets of readings. A<sub>1</sub> is in fact directly copied from V<sub>1</sub>; it shares all of V<sub>1</sub>'s errors, and adds many of its own, often resulting from an obvious misreading of V<sub>1</sub>. The lines of V<sub>1</sub> are wavy, leading the scribe of A<sub>1</sub> to return to the beginning of a line he has already copied. In every instance of this, the beginning of the repetition in A<sub>1</sub> matches the start of a line in V<sub>1</sub>. In other places, A<sub>1</sub> inserts V<sub>1</sub>'s marginalia corrections in the wrong place, leading to meaningless phrases. Example: The word *hetutā* on the first line of folio 35 of V<sub>1</sub> has the correction "ha 2" directly above it, indicating that the letter "ha" should be inserted at the appropriate place on line two. A<sub>1</sub> misses the "2" and instead inserts "ha" in the first line, giving the impossible reading "hetuhatā." A<sub>1</sub> shows no evidence of having had access to any other witness. I have collated A<sub>1</sub> for half of the passage, which should be sufficient to demonstrate its redundancy.

There are basically three types of readings: (1) superior readings; (2) competing readings that are equally plausible; and (3) obvious scribal errors. The differences between the two groups (J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>) are mostly of the second type, and are abundant in number. This is not sufficient in itself, however, to establish a common ancestor for each pair of manuscripts, since horizontal transmission can lead to variants being imported from a foreign

line of transmission. That is, in addition to his primary witness, a scribe may have access to another manuscript from a different line of descent. When he considers the second manuscript's readings better, he may import those readings into his own text, thus "contaminating" the first manuscript's tradition. In this case, transmission occurs horizontally, across the family tree, rather than simply down it. Thus, a pair of manuscripts may share resemblances not because they have the same archetype, but because one of them has imported readings from the other's line.

A scribe will only import those readings, however, which he believes to be superior to the ones he already has. Therefore, shared variants of the third type, namely, obvious scribal errors, provide the surest evidence of a shared archetype. A scribe would not import such errors from a foreign line, nor would he create them by his own volition. Each of our pairs also shares such scribal errors: for example, "sarūpa" ( $J_1K_1$ ) for "svarūpa" ( $V_1J_2$ ), "vidhānacaraṇaś" ( $J_1K_1$ ) for "vidhānacaraṇaś" ( $V_1J_2$ ), and "sarvaś" ( $V_1J_2$ ) for "śarvaś" ( $J_1K_1$ ). Still, every witness also has unique errors not possessed by the others, ensuring that none is a direct copy of another.

The Dhaka manuscript is a recent witness, probably from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, and has likely suffered from contamination. It generally selects the best possible reading, fluctuating between the two groups in the process. It shows a slight nearness toward  $K_1$ , as one would expect from geographical proximity. Based on this information, we can produce the following tentative stemma (Figure 6).<sup>7</sup>

Another source of variant readings is Purīdāsa's printed edition of the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā*, published in Gaurābda 464 (1950 AD). For the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, Purīdāsa utilizes seven manuscripts and three printed editions in selecting his readings. Of his manuscripts, only the one from Dhaka ( $P_{ha}$  or D) is available to me. I know of the existence and location of two

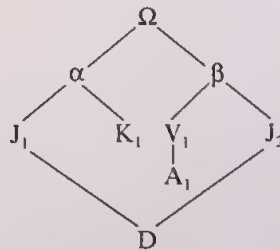


Figure 6 Pragmatic stemma.

<sup>7</sup> My stemma here has turned out to be bipartite. For a discussion of the problem of the unnatural prevalence of stemmatic bipartism, see Vasudeva (2000: xxvi).



others ( $P_{ka}$  and  $P_{ca}$ ), but have as yet been unable to access them. The rest are untraceable.<sup>8</sup>

Purīdāsa's work is by far the most useful printed text of the Sandarbhas, as it is based upon a broad range of sources from both Vṇḍāvana and Bengal. Although his readings are quite dependable, they are selected for comprehensiveness and comprehensibility. Thus, if a passage is not found in some manuscripts, his tendency is to still accept the reading, as long as the passage complements or "fills out" the argument of the text. If my own range of manuscript sources is any indication of the tradition in general, then it seems that Purīdāsa fails to note quite a few omissions in his sources, at least in regard to missing quotations from scriptural texts. Furthermore, based on my work with the Dhaka manuscript, it appears that Purīdāsa does not list all meaningful variants in his apparatus, but only those which are significantly different in meaning and which he considers to be as plausible as his own reading.

This makes it impossible to determine relationships between his manuscripts sources. Since we cannot assume that all of Purīdāsa's manuscripts agree with his reading (even when no differences are listed in his apparatus), I have not included his manuscripts in my positive apparatus, nor have I given them any weight in selecting readings. I have, however, for the sake of completeness, included all the variants provided by Purīdāsa in my apparatus.

Supporting evidence for the stemma provided above can be gleaned by examining the manuscript tradition of the other Sandarbhas. Manuscripts of the six Sandarbhas are almost always found together, as a set copied by the same scribe. Thus, it is likely that similar relationships would hold for the other Sandarbhas as they do for the *Paramāṭma-sandarbha*. In order to test this conjecture, I made a spot comparison of *Bhagavat-sandarbha* manuscripts, of which I had six at my disposal: two from Vṇḍāvana, two from Jodhpur, one from Alwar, and one from Kolkata. As mentioned above, Purīdāsa notes twenty-five locations where there are significant additions, omissions, or alternate readings found in his sources. I visited these locations in each of my manuscripts of *Bhagavat-sandarbha* and found a pattern largely in agreement with the *Paramatma-sandarbha* tradition. The Alwar manuscript always follows one of the Vṇḍāvana manuscripts, which in turn usually agrees with the other Vṇḍāvana manuscript and one of the Jodhpur manuscripts. The second Jodhpur manuscript agrees often with Kolkata (although this correspondence was weaker than the others).

Purīdāsa's own register of variants supports a similar split. He uses three manuscripts from West Bengal, two from Puri, two from Vṇḍāvana, and one from Dhaka. In almost all cases, the Bengali manuscripts agree on their

<sup>8</sup> Purīdāsa's Purī manuscript ( $P_{pha}$ ) has been moved from the Gaṅgāmātā Maṭha and its present location is unknown.



reading. In all cases but two, the Vṛndāvana manuscript of Vanamālīlāla Gosvāmī disagrees with the Bengali sources, but Purīdāsa's second Vṛndāvana manuscript (of Vṛndāvanacarāṇa Dāsa) almost always agrees with them.

The following is a description of the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* manuscripts I have used in producing the edited text of Jīva Gosvāmī's *Catuḥsūtrī Tīkā*:

- A<sub>1</sub>: This manuscript is held in the Alwar branch of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (R.O.R.I.), catalogued as ms. number 1799 in vol. XXI of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts (Alwar Collection)*. It was originally listed as ms. number 834 in the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Ulwar*, by Peter Peterson, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College, published in Bombay, 1892, at the "Times of India" Steam Press. The manuscript is written in clear, evenly spaced Devanāgarī on paper measuring 20 × 38 cm., with 43 folios, and approximately 13 lines of text per side. Scribal errors abound and there are no marginalia. The first twenty folios are missing. My chosen passage begins on folio 35. The colophon states, "And may Śrī Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa be pleased by this. The number of ślokaḥ: 1758. May there be auspiciousness. Completed in Mārgaśīrṣā(?) 12, Tuesday, saṁvat 1913 [1856]."
- D: The manuscript is part of the University of Dhaka Sanskrit manuscript collection, catalogued as ms. number 2396-C. It is written in modern Bengali script on paper measuring 30 × 11 cm., with 59 folios and approximately 14 lines per side. The text is carefully written with few scribal errors or marginalia. *Anusvāra* is not used in place of every nasal, and *sandhi* is not applied before "iti." The *avagraha* is used. The manuscript begins "śrī-kṛṣṇa-cainya-devo jayati." The selected passage begins on folio 49. The colophon provides no information regarding date or location of composition. D is identical to Purīdāsa's fifth source (P<sub>na</sub> below).
- J<sub>1</sub>: This manuscript is held at the Jodhpur branch of the R.O.R.I., catalogued as ms. number 7068 in vol. II-B of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts (Jodhpur Collection)*. It is written in Devanāgarī on paper measuring 30.5 × 12.5 cm., with 27 folios and approximately 19 lines per side. The text is copied carefully. There is little marginalia and no punctuation, although the scribe leaves extra space and refrains from applying *sandhi* at places where there might be a *daṇḍa*. The manuscript opens with "śrī-rādhā-ballabho jayati | atha paramātmā-sandarbhāḥ 3 ||". The selected passage begins on folio 23. The colophon states, "May Śrī Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa be pleased with this labor. It was written for the sake of my own study by Vyāsa Harilāla, a resident of Jūnī and a resident of Śrī Vṛndāvana in mind. Completed on saṁvat 1820 [1763 AD], Phālguna, kṛṣṇa-pakṣa 8, Friday in Jainagara (Jaipur), in the

temple of Śrī Vijai Gopāla.<sup>9</sup> Śrī Radhā-ballabha is victorious. After this, there will be Śrī-kṛṣṇa-sandarbha.”

- J<sub>2</sub>:** This Jodhpur manuscript is held at the Jodhpur branch of the R.O.R.I., catalogued as ms. number 9993 in vol. II-B of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts (Jodhpur Collection)*. It is written in rounded Devanāgarī script on paper measuring 28.5 × 12 cms, with 66 folios and approximately 11 lines per side. Marginalia consist mostly of minor corrections to the text. The selected passage begins on folio 55. The colophon provides no information about the date or location of writing, although the catalogue tells us that it dates from the nineteenth century.
- K<sub>1</sub>:** This manuscript is held at the Asiatic Society in Kolkata, W. Bengal, catalogued as ms. number 679 (III) in *The Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society (Government Collection)*. It is written in Devanāgarī on paper measuring 14 × 31 cm., with 74 folios and approximately 10 lines per side. There is a significant amount of marginalia, all of which is written in thin, modern Bengali script. The manuscript opens with “namo gaṇeśāya. namaḥ śrī-kṛṣṇāya.” The selected passage begins on folio 63. The last two folios are written in a different hand, marked by the absence of *daṇḍas* and *avagrahas* (which are used in the rest of the manuscript). The colophon provides no information about the date or location of writing, although the Śrī-kṛṣṇa-sandarbha (number 679 IV) is dated saṁvat 1929 (1872 AD). K<sub>1</sub> may be older than this, however, since the six Sandarbhas in the Asiatic Society collection do not seem to form a homogenous set. Both the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* and *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* undergo a change of hand and paper-type in the middle of the text. The *Bhagavat-sandarbha* was copied (in Devanāgarī) by a Vaiṣṇava-sevā Dāsa of Vṛndāvana, while the *Bhakti-sandarbha* is written in Bengali script. All six are badly eaten by worms, and some folios have been covered in plastic to prevent further damage. This plastic has turned yellow and hazy, however, obscuring the text in many places.
- V<sub>1</sub>:** This Vṛndāvana manuscript is held at the Vrindaban Research Institute, catalogued as ms. number 753 in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts Micro-filmed*. It is also held at the Indian Institute Library, Oxford, as part of the Vaiṣṇava Literature Microfilm Collection of the Adyar Library, the Institute for Vaiṣṇava Studies, and the American University, listed in the collection's catalogue as “Bhāgavata Sandarbha III—Paramātmā Sandarbha.” According to the fact sheet placed at the beginning of the microfilm, the manuscript is from the Sumrā Kuṅja library of Hari Śaṅkara dāsa in Vṛndāvana. V<sub>1</sub> is written in Devanāgarī script on paper measuring 35 × 18 cm., with 39 folios and approximately 15 lines per side. The marginalia often provide helpful glosses and specify referents

<sup>9</sup> This last phrase is in Hindi: śrī-vijai-gopālaī ke mandira-viṣa.

of pronouns. The manuscript begins “śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇābhyām namaḥ.” The selected passage begins on folio 32. The colophon simply says, “May Śrī Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa be pleased with this. The number of verses: 1758.”

**P<sub>ed</sub>:** This edition of the *Bhāgavata Sandarbha* was edited by Akiñcana Śrīmat Purīdāsa Mahāśaya, published by Śrī Haridāsa Śarmā, a resident of Vṛndāvana, and printed in Calcutta by Iṣṭāyānt Printers. The first four Sandarbhas are bound together in one volume, and the last three in another. All the title pages are stamped “vikreya nahīm hai,” “not to be sold.” The text is given in Bengali script, with *Bhāgavata* verses in a slightly larger font. No translation is provided. All verse quotations are numbered consecutively. The central verse of each *anuccheda* is identified by the *anuccheda* number written before it. Sources of quotations, along with verse numbers in most cases, are provided before the quotations, within the text itself. There is a register of footnotes supplying variant readings. Purīdāsa uses the following manuscript and printed sources for his text of the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* (the subscripts are the letters he assigns to each source):

- P<sub>ka</sub>** Manuscript no. 1216 from the Varāhanagara Gaurāṅga Grantha Mandira in Kolkata.
- P<sub>kha</sub>** Manuscript preserved in the library of Śrīmad Vanamālilāla Gosvāmī Mahodaya, a resident of Vṛndāvana.
- P<sub>ga</sub>** Manuscript dated 1716 Śaka (1794), obtained from Śrīmad Vaiṣṇavacaraṇa Dāsa Mahāśaya, a resident of Keṣighāṭa (Ṭhōra), Vṛndāvana.
- P<sub>gha</sub>** Manuscript number 123 from the Śrī Gaṅgāmātā Maṭha in Purī, Orissa.
- P<sub>na</sub>** Manuscript number 2396-C from University of Dhaka Library. (See manuscript D above.)
- P<sub>ca</sub>** Manuscript no. 1443 from Vangiya Sahitya Parishat in Kolkata.
- P<sub>cha</sub>** Manuscript obtained from Gauramaṇḍala (Navadvīpa, W. Bengal).
- P<sub>ja</sub>** Text published in Vaṅgābda 1299 (1893 AD) by Śrī Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna in Murśidābād-Baharampur.
- P<sub>jha</sub>** Text published by Śrī Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī in Vaṅgābda 1307 (1901 AD).
- P<sub>na</sub>** Text published in Vaṅgābda 1348 (1942 AD) by Śrī Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmī Vedāntabhūṣaṇa, as part of the Śrī Bhāratī Granthamālā series of the Indian Research Institute.

I have not made use of the following manuscripts:

**A<sub>2</sub>:** This manuscript is held in the Alwar branch of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (R.O.R.I.), catalogued as ms. number 4618 in vol. XXI of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts (Alwar Collection)*.



According to the catalogue, the manuscript is written in Devanāgarī on paper measuring 19 × 36 cm. and dates from the nineteenth century. The manuscript is incomplete in 23 folios, and lacks the final section with Jīva Gosvāmī's *Catuḥsūtrī Tīkā* (anuccheda 105).

- B:** This manuscript is held at the Central Library of the University of Burdwan (W. Bengal), catalogued as "Bhāgavata-sandarbhā," ms. no. 290. According to the catalogue, the manuscript is complete in 8 folios, with 8 lines per page and 55 letters per line. Obviously, this cannot be the case. The text is dated to Śaka 1745 (1823 AD). The Burdwan catalogue lists two more *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* manuscripts, both of which are incomplete and damaged. A further two manuscripts are listed as "Bhāgavata-tīkā," but judging from the opening verse provided (tau santoṣayatā santau . . .), they seem to be Sandarbha manuscripts. Both are incomplete, although one (ms. number 242) has 100 folios, and so might contain my relevant section. I have been unable to visit Burdwan to check on this manuscript.
- C:** This Chennai manuscript is listed as "Bhāgavata Sandarbha" in the Purāṇa section of the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library*, Part I. It is in Bengali script and is incomplete. The manuscript keeper of the Adyar Library was unable to locate the manuscript.
- K<sub>2</sub>:** This Kolkata manuscript of the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* is held at the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, catalogued as ms. number 1443 in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat*. According to the catalogue, all six Sandarbhās are written in Bengali script, dated to Vaṅgābda 1283 (1877 AD), and are complete. The Parishat librarian was unable to access the manuscripts due to renovation work in the library building. This manuscript is identical to Puridāsa's P<sub>ca</sub>.
- L:** This manuscript of the Paramātmā-sandarbhā is held at the India Office of the British Library in London, catalogued as ms. number 3527 in the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part IV. The manuscript is written in modern Bengali script on paper measuring 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. The text is erroneously identified as "Paramārtha-sandarbhā" in the margins of the manuscript. It is incomplete in 26 folios, ending abruptly in the 71st paragraph, and therefore lacks the relevant final section of the text.
- V<sub>2</sub>:** This Vṛndāvana manuscript is held at the Vrindaban Research Institute, catalogued as ms. number 11186 in *The Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, part III. It is written in Devanāgarī script on paper measuring 34.4 × 18 cm., and is complete in 46 folios. This manuscript is part of a set of Sandarbhas manuscripts donated by the library of Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmī at Rādhā Kuṇḍa, and so should be utilized in the editing process. I hope to examine the manuscript during a future visit to India.
- V<sub>3</sub>, V<sub>4</sub>, V<sub>5</sub>, V<sub>6</sub>:** These manuscripts are held at the Vrindaban Research Institute, catalogued in *The Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, parts I–III, as



numbers 713-B, 5025, 6040, and 8247, respectively. All four are incomplete to varying degrees, and lack the relevant section with Jīva Gosvāmī's *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā*. As in the case of manuscript L, V<sub>3</sub> is erroneously named "Paramārtha-sandarbha."

### Printed editions

As we can see from Purīdāsa's sources, the publication history of the *Paramātma-sandarbha* dates back to the latter part of the nineteenth century. From my search through the National Library and Asiatic Society Library in Kolkata, it seems that *Paramātma-sandarbha* was first published by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna in 1893 with an accompanying Bengali translation. After that, there was Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī's Kolkata edition in 1901, Satyānanda Gosvāmī's in 1927, and Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmī's in 1942. Several other publishers who produced editions of the *Tattva-sandarbha* (as early as 1919 in the case of Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī's edition) did not continue on to the later Sandarbhas, or else skipped straight to the *Bhakti* and *Prīti Sandarbhas*.

The text has been published several times in recent years. Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna's edition was reprinted in 1999 by the Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar in Kolkata. Both Haridāsa Śāstri and Śyāmdās (Śyāmlāl Hakīm) have published the six Sandarbhas with Hindi translation and commentary, using Purīdāsa's text as their source. Śyāmdās places his commentary after large sections of the text, elucidating concepts and defining key terms. His work was invaluable to me as a point of entrance into the Sandarbhas and as an aid in clarifying difficult passages. Haridāsa Śāstri tends to blend his commentary into the translation, along with excerpts from Jīva Gosvāmī's *Sarva-saṁvādinī*. The Jadavpur University edition of *Paramātma-sandarbha*, with introduction by Chinmayi Chatterjee, is basically a reprint of the Sanskrit text as found in Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī's edition.

### Major variants

As mentioned above, there are two locations in the *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā* that show significant differences in reading between the two manuscript families. The first occurs within the explanation of the phrase "*athātaḥ*" in the first *sūtra*. Both K<sub>1</sub> and J<sub>1</sub> insert an extra paragraph discussing the relationship between study of the ritual section of the Vedas (*karma-kāṇḍa*) and the knowledge section (*jñāna-kāṇḍa*). The paragraph mostly repeats what has been, or will be, stated, and does not provide any new reasoning. It occurs in different locations in both manuscripts. In J<sub>1</sub>, a few lines of text that occur before the passage are repeated after the passage. All this suggests the paragraph's foreign origin, and so I have chosen to omit it from the edited text.

The second variant passage consists of a long quotation from the *Agni Purāṇa* explaining the meaning of the *Gāyatrī*. This quote, along with a brief comment after it, is not found in either J<sub>1</sub> or K<sub>1</sub>. In this case, I have chosen to include the passage, for the following reasons. Most of the *Agni Purāṇa* verses, along with some commentary, are found in the *Tattva-sandarbha*. Even there, however, some manuscripts include the passage, while others do not (Elkman 1986: 99–100; Purīdās 1951: 7–8). All manuscripts of the *Tattva-sandarbha*, however, contain this statement: “A similar explanation [of the *Gāyatrī*] will also be given in this regard in the commentary on Bh.P. 1/1/1” (Elkman 1986: 100). The only commentary on the *Bhāgavata*’s first verse that includes an explanation of the *Gāyatrī* occurs at the end of the *Paramātma-sandarbha*—that is, in the *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā* being studied here. This statement, therefore, provides internal evidence that the *Ṭikā* constitutes an integral part of the Sandarbhas. It also tells us that Jīva Gosvāmī had planned a more detailed explanation of the *Gāyatrī* in this section of the *Paramātma-sandarbha*.

Now, all manuscripts of the *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā* contain a basic explanation of the *Gāyatrī* in terms of the *Bhāgavata*’s first verse, regardless of whether or not they include the *Agni Purāṇa* quotation. However, this basic explanation explicitly refers to the *Agni Purāṇa*, and includes a one-line quotation from it. Thus, even if the full-length quotations found in the *Tattva-sandarbha* and *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭikā* were both interpolated, we would still know with certainty that Jīva was aware of, and approved, the *Agni Purāṇa*’s explanation of the *Gāyatrī*. It therefore seems prudent to include the full quotation, at least in the interest of completeness. In order to reach a more secure decision, however, we would need to know more about the Sandarbha manuscripts as complete sets—whether the Sandarbha manuscripts that exclude the *Agni Purāṇa* quotation in the *Tattva-sandarbha* include it in the *Paramātma-sandarbha*, and vice versa, or whether the quotation is completely absent from some Sandarbha sets.

Finally, manuscript K<sub>1</sub> omits quotations from the Upaniṣads and other texts with some regularity. Since scriptural quotations are at the heart of any Vedāntic commentary, and since K<sub>1</sub> is alone in its omissions (even J<sub>1</sub> often does not follow), I have chosen to include the quotations.

### Editorial conventions followed in the critical edition

The critical apparatus has three registers. The first register notes any significant differences in reading that are not amenable to inclusion in the main list of variants, which comprises the second register. The third register provides references for passages quoted in the text. When there are only two registers on a page, however, they are the last two.

The main register of variants is a positive one. In other words, the phrase in the text upon which variants are to be reported is repeated in the apparatus,

followed by a lemma sign (J) and a list of manuscripts that contain the accepted text. This is followed by the variant readings found in other manuscripts. All entries are listed according to the number of the line (given in bold script) upon which they appear. Multiple entries on the same line are separated by a bullet point and different manuscript readings within the same entry by a comma. All explanatory words and comments in the apparatus are italicized. In noting variants, *sandhi* before “iti,” the doubling of a consonant in a conjunct with “r” as the first member, the exchange of “va” and “ba,” and the substitution of the *anusvāra* for a nasal consonant are all ignored. When listing a word in the positive apparatus, the left-hand *sandhi* will often be resolved for ease of identification, in which case the *sandhi* should be ignored as irrelevant to the difference in reading. Furthermore, a variant reading will sometimes introduce a new possibility of *sandhi* (e.g., the variant “*atra*” for “*tatra*”), in which case the reader should apply the appropriate *sandhi*. Finally, spacing between words is provided only for ease of reading, since none of the manuscripts space words (other than what is noted by an underscore \_).

I make use of the following conventions in the critical apparatus:

- Words within angle brackets < > were found in the margin, along with some indication of their intended location in the main text of the manuscript.
- The abbreviation *om.* (omitted) precedes the name of the manuscript in which the positive reading was not found.
- The abbreviation *unm.* indicates that the variant reading would make the verse unmetrical.
- A question mark is placed in place of a letter that I have been unable to identify.
- Strikethrough (e.g. ~~दोषा~~) indicates that the words have been deleted in the manuscript, while a dash (–) is placed in place of a deleted letter that is unrecognizable.
- An underscore ( \_ ) denotes a space in the manuscript text.

The register of variants retains readings that are negligible or impossible. Since the manuscript examination process is not yet complete ( $V_2$  and  $K_2$  still need to be examined), a reduction of the apparatus would be premature.

In the third register, I have looked up Jīva Gosvāmī’s quotations in current editions of texts and given either the verse or page number. The following printed editions were used: Ollivelle’s edition of the Upaniṣads; Motilal Banarsidass’s *Upaniṣat-saṁgraha* (for the Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads); the Poona critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*; the Baroda critical edition of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; Dutt and Joshi’s *Agni Purāṇa*; the Poona Oriental Series *Amarakośa*; the Melkote critical edition of the *Śrībhāṣya*, and the Sarva-Mūla-Grantha



edition of Madhva's *Bhāgavata-tātparya-nirṇaya*.<sup>10</sup> Full references for these texts can be found in the bibliography at the end of this book. When I have been unable able to locate a particular quotation, I have indicated this with a question mark in parentheses following the name of the text to which it is attributed.

A final note: in the following chapter, there are 15 lines of Sanskrit text on each page, and every fourth line has been numbered for the reader's convenience. Due to formatting constraints, however, each line of Sanskrit text often does not fit on a single line of the printed page and so the remaining words are indented and continued on another line. This does not, however, affect the overall numbering of 15 lines per page and the additional words should still be considered part of the preceding line for purposes of the critical apparatus.

### Editorial conventions followed in the translation

In the translation, English words in parentheses were added by me for the sake of clarity. When a Sanskrit phrase is enclosed in parentheses, I am providing the original terminology used by Jīva. Words from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* verses upon which Jīva is commenting are italicized for ease of identification. No other Sanskrit words are italicized. All section headings and sub-headings are my own.

In the notes to the translation, I have attempted to clarify difficult passages, fill out steps in the argument, give background information that Jīva Gosvāmī assumes of his readers, and point out correlations in language and reasoning with other authors. I have also provided the Sanskrit text of *Bhāgavata* verses, since Jīva's comments correspond directly to particular words in the text.

<sup>10</sup> An interesting observation can be made regarding Jīva Gosvāmī's use of his sources. In the *Tattva-sandarbhā* and at the beginning of the *Catuḥsūtrī Ṭīkā*, Jīva quotes a couple of verses from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* that describe the *Bhāgavata* as the purport of the *Brahma-sūtra*. In the early nineteenth century, Rammohan Roy wrote in his *Gosvāmī Sahita Vicāra*:

In our country there is practically no reliable tradition regarding the transmission of Purāṇa-s, and one could easily compose Purāṇic verses in simple Sanskrit. Taking advantage of this fact, the Vaiṣṇavas of this region [i.e., Bengal] have composed verses, attributing them to the *Guruḍa Purāṇa*, in order to have an authority for calling the *Bhāgavata* a commentary (on the *Brahmasūtra*).

(49–50, quoted in Elkman 1987: 149)

As it turns out, I have been able to locate these same verses in Madhva's commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata-tātparya-nirṇaya*. Since Jīva mentions this work in the *Tattva-sandarbhā* as one of his sources, it is likely that he drew the verses from there. Thus, the accusation, if it is to be made, must be shifted farther up the tradition. Even there, however, it is difficult to think of a motivation for fabricating these verses, since the *Bhāgavata* does not hold the same preeminent position in the Mādhva tradition as it does in the Gauḍīya.



6

A CRITICAL EDITION

- <sup>1,2</sup>atha pūrvarītyā caturvyūhatvādyavisamvāditayā yad atra  
trivyūhatvaṁ darśitaṁ tatra  
prathamavyūhasya śrībhāgavata eva mukhyatvaṁ  
yatpratipādakatvenaivāsya  
mahāpurāṇasya śrībhāgavatam ity ākhyā | yathoktam idaṁ  
bhāgavataṁ nāma purāṇaṁ  
4 brahmasammitam iti | tasya hi prādhānye ṣaḍvidhena liṅgena  
tātparyam api paryālocyate |  
upakramopasamhārāv abhyāsoṇpūrvatā phalam |  
arthavāḍopapattī ca liṅgaṁ tātparyanirṇaye ||  
ity uktaprakāreṇa | tathā hi tāvad upakramopasamhārayor aikyena  
8 janmādy asya yatonvayād itarataś cārtheṣv abhijñāḥ svarāt  
tene brahma hṛdā ya ādikavaye muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ |  
tejovārimṛdāṁ yathā vinimayo yatra trisargomṛṣā  
dhāmnā svena sadā nirastakuhakaṁ satyaṁ paraṁ  
dhīmahi ||  
12 kasmai yena vibhāsitoyam atulo jñānapradīpaḥ purā  
tadrūpeṇa ca nāradāya munaye kṛṣṇāya tadrūpiṇā |  
yogīndrāya tadātmanātha bhagavadrātāya kāruṇyatas

<sup>1</sup> 1 avisamvāditayā] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>. avisamvāditayā<avirodhitayā> V<sub>1</sub> • trivyūhatvaṁ darśitaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, trivyūhasya A<sub>1</sub>, trivyūhatvaṁ P<sub>cd</sub> • tatra prathamavyūhasya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub> 2 mukhyatvaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, mukhyātvaṁ A<sub>1</sub> • pratipādakatvena] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, pratipādatvena J<sub>1</sub> 4 prādhānye] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>gha</sub>, prādhānyena K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> • liṅgena] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <liṅgena> V<sub>1</sub> 5 paryālocyate] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, paryāyenocyate DP<sub>ia</sub> 6 After upasamhārā°, A<sub>1</sub> repeats °ṇasya śrībhāgavatam (line 3) ... ṣaḍvi°. 13 vibhāsitoyam] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, vibhāsitoyam D 15 yogīndrāya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, yogīndrāya A<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 3 idaṁ ... brahmasammitam, Bhāgavata 1.3.40 6 upakramo ... nirṇaye, (?) 9 janmādy ... dhīmahi, Bhāgavata 1.1.1 kasmai ... dhīmahi (next page), Bhāgavata 12.13.19

- <sup>1,2</sup>tac chuddham vimalam viśokam amṛtam satyaṁ param  
dhīmahi || 105 ||  
atra purvasyārthaḥ arthoyaṁ brahmasūtrāṇām iti gāruḍokter  
asya mahāpurāṇasya  
brahmasūtrākṛtrimabhāṣyātmakatvāt prathamam tad  
upādāyaivāvatāraḥ | tatra pūrvam  
4 athāto brahma jijñāseti vyācāṣṭe tejovārimṛdām ityādyardhena |  
yojanāyām  
prāthamikatvād asya pūrvatvam | tatra brahmajijñāseti vyācāṣṭe  
param dhīmahīti | param  
śrībhagavantaṁ dhīmahi dhyāyema | tad evam muktapragrahayā  
yogavṛttyā bṛhatvād  
brahma yat sarvātmakam tadbahiś ca bhavati tat tu  
nījaraśmyādibhyaḥ sūrya iva  
8 sarvebhyaḥ param eva svato bhavatīti  
mūlarūpabhagavatpradarśanāya parapadena  
brahmapadam vyākhyāyate | tac cātra bhagavān evety abhimatam  
| puruṣasya tadamśatvān  
nirviśeṣabrahmaṇo guṇādihīnatvāt | uktaṁ ca  
śrīrāmānujacaraṇaiḥ sarvatra  
bṛhatvaguṇayogena hi brahmaśabdaḥ | bṛhatvam ca svarūpeṇa  
guṇaiś ca  
12 yatrānavadhikātiśayaḥ sosya mukhyārthaḥ | sa ca sarveśvara eveti  
| uktaṁ ca pracetobhīḥ  
nahyanto yad vibhūtinām sonanta iti gīyase iti | ataeva  
vividhamanoharānantākāratvepi  
tattadākārāśrayaparamādbhutamukhyākāratvam api tasya  
vyañjitam | tad evam mūrtatve  
siddhe tenaiva paratvena tasya

<sup>1</sup> 1 dhīmahi || 105 || ] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, dhīmahi || 10 || 5 || D, dhīmahi 105 J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, dhīmahi P<sub>ed</sub> 2 atra] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tatra J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • arthoyaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, arthāya A<sub>1</sub> 3 prathamam] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, prathamam <sūtram> D • upādāyaiva] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, upādāyaiva <avatāraṇikā> V<sub>1</sub> 4 yojanāyām] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, yojanīyam DP<sub>ja</sub> 6 tad evam mukta] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tad eva[mukta] D, tad evamukta K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>P<sub>ja</sub> • pragrahayā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, pragṛhayā A<sub>1</sub>, pragra<ha>yā V<sub>1</sub> • yogavṛttyā] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, vṛttyā K<sub>1</sub> 8 param eva svato] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, paramēśvarato D, param eva K<sub>1</sub> • mūlarūpabhagavatpradarśanāya] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>na</sub>P<sub>cha</sub>P<sub>ja</sub>, śuddhatvapradarśanāya J<sub>1</sub>, <???pradarśanāya> K<sub>1</sub>, <śuddhasattva>mūlarūpabhagavatpradarśanāya V<sub>1</sub>, mūlarūpatvapradarśanāya P<sub>ed</sub> 9 tac] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, sa J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • bhagavān evety] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, bhagavān ivety P<sub>ja</sub> 10 nirviśeṣabrahmaṇo] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, nirguṇasya brahmaṇo P<sub>ja</sub> 12 sosya mukhyārthaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, sosyāmukṣārtho A<sub>1</sub>, sosya mukhyorthaḥ J<sub>2</sub>, sosya <brahmapadasya> mukṣārthaḥ V<sub>1</sub>, sosya brahmaśabdasya mukhyorthaḥ P<sub>ed</sub> • sa] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, sa <bhagavān> V<sub>1</sub> 13 gīyase] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, gīyateti (unn.) A<sub>1</sub>, gīyate J<sub>2</sub> 14 tattadākāra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tattayākāra A<sub>1</sub>, tatta<dā>kāra (<dā> could be read <yā>) V<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 2 arthoyaṁ brahmasūtrāṇām, Garuḍa (?), quoted in Madhva's Bhāgavatātātparyanirṇaya 1.1.1, (p. 4) 4 athāto brahma jijñāsā, Brahmasūtra 1.1.1 10 sarvatra ... sarveśvara eva, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.1, p. 3 13 nahyanto ... gīyase, Bhāgavata 4.30.31

- <sup>1,2</sup>viṣṇvādirūpakabhagavattvam eva siddham tasyaiva  
 brahmaśivādīparatvena darśitatvāt |  
 atra jijñāsety asya vyākhyā dhīmahīti | yatas tajjijñāsāyās  
 tātparyam taddhyāna eva | tad  
 uktam ekādaśe svayam bhagavatā
- 4 śabdabrahmaṇi niṣṇāto na niṣṇāyāt pare yadi |  
 śramas tasya śramaphalo hy adhenum iva rakṣata || iti |  
 tato dhīmahīty anena śrīrāmānujamataṁ jijñāsāpadam  
 nididhyāsanaparam eveti |  
 svīyatvenāṅgīkaroti śrībhāgavatanāmā sarvavedādisārarūpayaṁ  
 grantha ity āyātam |
- 8 dhīmahīti bahuvacanam kāladeśaparamparāsthitasya sarvasyāpi  
 tatkartavyatābhiprāyeṇa  
 anantakoṭībrahmāṇḍāntaryāminām puruṣāṇām amśibhūte  
 bhagavaty eva  
 dhyānasyābhidhānāt | anenaikajīvavādajīvanabhūto vivartavādopi  
 nirastaḥ | dhyāyatir api  
 bhagavato mūrtatvam eva bodhayati dhyānasya mūrta  
 evākaṣṭhārthatvāt | sati ca susādhe
- 12 pumarthopāye duḥśādhasya puruṣāpravṛtṭyā svata evāpakarṣāt  
 tadupāsakasyaiva  
 yuktamatvanirṇayāc ca | tathā ca gītopaniṣadaḥ  
 mayy āveśya mano ye mām nityayuktā upāsate |  
 śraddhayā parayopetās te me yuktatamā matāḥ ||

<sup>1</sup> 1 rūpaka] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, rūpa DJ<sub>2</sub> • brahmaśivādi] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <brahma>śivādi V<sub>1</sub> 3 uktam ekādaśe] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, uktam 11 | 11 tad-uktam K<sub>1</sub> 4 na] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nā A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, nā J<sub>1</sub> 6 tato] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ato K<sub>1</sub> • śrīrāmānujamatam . . . sarvavedādisāra om. J<sub>2</sub>. There is a carat sign at the point of ommission, but the top margin of the folio is torn, making the supplied text unknown. • rāmānujamataṁ] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, rāmānujamantaṁ A<sub>1</sub>, rāmānujamata D, om. J<sub>2</sub> 7 svīyatvena] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>2</sub>, svīyatvena <sādhanaatvena> V<sub>1</sub> • bhāgavatanāmā] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhāgavatenāmā A<sub>1</sub>, bhāgavatam J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, om. J<sub>2</sub> • sarva . . . grantha om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • vedādi] DP<sub>cd</sub>, dehādi A<sub>1</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, ?edādi V<sub>1</sub> • grantha] DP<sub>cd</sub>, gratha A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 9 ananta] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, anant<a> V<sub>1</sub> 10 dhyāyatir] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dhyāyantir A<sub>1</sub> 11 eva] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, api P<sub>cd</sub> • ca] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> • susādhe] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, susādhye DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, su<khalapratyayaḥ>sādhye V<sub>1</sub> 12 duḥśādhasya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, duḥśādhyasya A<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, duḥśādhyā K<sub>1</sub> • <tadupāsaka . . . nirṇayāc ca> K<sub>1</sub> 13 yuktamatatva] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, yuktamatatva D • gītā] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śrīgītā J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 4 śabda . . . rakṣata, Bhāgavata 11.11.18 14 mayy . . . matāḥ, Gītā 12.2



- <sup>1,2</sup>ye tv akṣaram anirdeśyam avyaktaṁ paryupāsate |  
 te prāpnuvanti mām eva sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ ||  
 kleśodhikataras teṣāṁ avyaktāsaktacetāsāṁ  
 4 avyaktā hi gatir duḥkhaṁ dehavadbhir avāpyate ||  
 idam eva ca vivṛtaṁ brahmaṇā  
 śreyaḥsṛtiṁ bhaktim udasya te vibho  
 kliśyanti ye kevalabodhalabdhaye |  
 8 teṣāṁ asau kleśala eva śiṣyate  
 nānyad yathā sthūlatuṣāvaghātinām || iti |  
 ata evāśya dhyeyasya svayaṁ bhagavattvaṁ eva sādhitam |  
 śivādayaś ca vyāvṛttāḥ | tathā  
 dhīmahīti liṅā dyotitā pṛthaganusandhānarahitā prārthanā  
 dhyānopalakṣitaṁ  
 12 bhagavadbhajanam eva paramapuruṣārthatvena vyanakti | tato  
 bhagavatas tu tathātvaṁ  
 svayaṁ eva vyaktaṁ | tataś ca  
 yathoktaparamamanoharamūrtitvaṁ eva lakṣyate | tathā ca  
 vedānāṁ sāmavedosmīti | tatra ca bṛhatsāma tathā sāmnam ity  
 uktamahimni bṛhatsāmni  
 bṛhad dhāmaṁ bṛhat pāṛthivaṁ bṛhad antarikṣaṁ bṛhad divaṁ

<sup>1</sup> 3 avyaktāsakta] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, avyaktā<sakta> D 6 sṛtiṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, smṛtiṁ A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 10 ca] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, cātra J<sub>1</sub> 11 anusandhāna] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, anusādhana A<sub>1</sub>, anusandhā?a D, anusañdhana V<sub>1</sub> 12 dhyānopalakṣitaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, dhyānopalakṣita P<sub>ed</sub> • parama] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. D 13 tathātvaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tathātvaṁ <paramapuruṣārthatvaṁ> V<sub>1</sub> • yathokta] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, yathoktaṁ A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 14 lakṣyate] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, lakṣate A<sub>1</sub>D • <tathā ... vāmam iti (first line, next page)> K<sub>1</sub> • vedānāṁ ... mahimni bṛhat] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>, om. DJ<sub>2</sub>, in the margin in K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 15 sāmni] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, samni D, <sāmni> K<sub>1</sub> • antarikṣaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, antarikṣaṁ DP<sub>ed</sub>, <antarikṣaṁ> K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 1 ye ... paryupāsate, Gītā 12.3 2 te ... ratāḥ, Gītā 12.4 3 kleśo ... avāpyate, Gītā 12.5 6 śreyaḥ ... avaghātinām, Bhāgavata 10.14.4 14 vedānāṁ ... asmī, Gītā 10.22 • bṛhat ... sāmnam, Gītā 10.35 15 bṛhad dhāmaṁ ... vāmebhyo vāmam (next page), Bṛhatsāma (?)

- <sup>1,2,3</sup>brhad dhāmaṁ brhadbhyo vāmaṁ vāmebhyo vāmam iti | tad  
 evaṁ brahmajijñāseti  
 vyākhyātam | athāta ity asya vyākhyām āha satyam iti | yatas  
 tatrāthaśabda ānantarye  
 ataḥśabdo vṛttasya hetubhāve vartate tasmād atheti  
 svādhyāyakramataḥ prāk
- 4 prāptakarmakāṇḍe pūrvamīmāṁsayā samyak karmajñānād  
 anantaram ity arthaḥ | ata iti  
 tatkrāmataḥ samanantaram prāptabrahmakāṇḍe  
 tūttaramīmāṁsayā  
 nirṇeyasamyagarthedhītacarād yatkiñcidanusamhitārthāt kutaḥ  
 kutaścid vākyād dhetor ity  
 arthaḥ | pūrvamīmāṁsāyāḥ  
 pūrvapakṣatvenottaramīmāṁsānirṇayottarakṣesminn
- 8 avaśyāpekṣatvād aviruddhāṁśe sahāyativāt karmaṇaḥ  
 śāntyādilakṣaṇasattvaśuddhihetutvāc  
 ca tadanantaram ity eva labhyam | vākyāni caitāni tad yattheha  
 karmajito lokaḥ kṣīyate  
 evam evāmutra puṇyajito lokaḥ kṣīyate | atha ya ihātmānam  
 anuvīdya vrajanty etāṁś ca  
 satyakāmāṁś teṣāṁ sarveṣu lokeṣu kāmācāro bhavatīti na sa  
 punar āvartata iti sa
- 12 cānantyāya kalpata iti nirañjanaḥ paramaṁ sāmīyam upaitīti |  
 idaṁ jñānam upāśrītya mama sādharṇyam āgatāḥ |  
 sargepi nopajāyante pralaye na vyathanti ca || iti ca

<sup>1</sup> K<sub>1</sub> omits *tasmād* (line 3) to *vyathanti ca* (line 15).

<sup>2</sup> 2 śabda] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> 3 vṛttasya] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vṛttasya <niṣpannasya> J<sub>2</sub>, vṛttasya <gatasya niṣpannasya> V<sub>1</sub> • hetubhāve] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, hetubhāve A<sub>1</sub> 5 tatkrāmataḥ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tat<svādhyāya>kramataḥ J<sub>2</sub> • samanantaram] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, samanantara A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • prāptabrahmakāṇḍe tūttaramīmāṁsāyā nirṇeya] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, prāptabrahmakāṇḍottaramīmāṁsānirṇeya J<sub>1</sub> 6 samyagarthe] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, samyagārthe A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • dhītacarād] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dhītacarā J<sub>1</sub> • yat] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, —<yat> D • anusamhitārthāt kutaḥ kutaścid] J<sub>2</sub>, anusamhitārthāt kutaścid DP<sub>cd</sub>, anusamdhītārthāt kutaḥ kutaścid A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, anusamhitārthān kutaḥ kutaścid J<sub>1</sub> 7 nirṇaya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nirṇeya A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 8 avaśyāpekṣatvād] J<sub>2</sub>, avaśyāpekṣyativāt DP<sub>cd</sub>, avaśyāpekṣatvād A<sub>1</sub>, atasyāpekṣatvād J<sub>1</sub>, āvaśyāpekṣatvād V<sub>1</sub> • sahāyativāt] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sayāhāyativāt A<sub>1</sub> 9 śāntyādi] DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śāntādi A<sub>1</sub>, śānt<y>ādi J<sub>2</sub>, śāntiyādi V<sub>1</sub> • lakṣaṇa] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, lakṣaṇam D • ity eva labhyam] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ity eva labhya A<sub>1</sub>, i<tye>va labhyam J<sub>1</sub> 10 kṣīyate evam] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, kṣī eva J<sub>1</sub> 11 vrajanty] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vrajant J<sub>1</sub> • teṣāṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, teṣu A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 12 paramaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, param A<sub>1</sub> 13 iti] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. D 14 jñānam upāśrītya] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, jñānam mapāśrītya A<sub>1</sub>, jñānam apāśrītya DV<sub>1</sub> • mama] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, mana D 15 iti ca] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, iti J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>

<sup>3</sup> 2 atha ... hetubhāve, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.1 p. 2 10 tad ... bhavati, Chāndogya 8.1.6 12 na ... āvartate, (?) • sa cānantyāya kalpate, Śvetāśvatara 5.9 • nirañjanaḥ ... upaiti, Muṇḍaka 3.1.3 14 idaṁ ... ca, Gītā 14.2

- <sup>1,2,3</sup>tad etad ubhayaṃ vivṛtaṃ śrīrāmānujaśārīrake  
 mīmāṃsāpūrvabhāga-jñātasya  
 karmaṇolpāsthira-phalatvāt taduparitanabhāgāvaseyasya  
 brahmajñānasya  
 anantākṣaya-phalatvāc ca | pūrvavṛttāt karmajñānād anantaraṃ  
 tata eva hetor brahma
- 4 jñātavyam ity uktam bhavati | tad āha sarvādivṛttikāro bhagavān  
 baudhāyanaḥ vṛttāt  
 karmādhi-gamād anantaraṃ brahma vividiṣetīti | etad eva  
 puraṇjanopākhyāne ca  
 dakṣiṇāvāmakarṇayoḥ pitṛhūdevahūśabdaniruktau vyaktam asti |  
 tad evaṃ samyak  
 karmakāṇḍajñānānantaraṃ brahmakāṇḍagatesu keśucid vākyeṣu  
 svargādyaṇandasya
- 8 vastuvicāreṇa duḥkharūpatvavyabhicārisattākatvajñānapūrvakaṃ  
 brahmaṇas tv  
 avyabhicāriparamānandatvena satyatvajñānam eva  
 brahmajijñāsāyāṃ hetur iti | athāta ity  
 asyārthe labdhe tannirgalitārtham evāha satyam iti |  
 sarvasattādatra vyabhicārisattākam ity  
 arthaḥ | param ity anenānvayāt satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ  
 brahmety atra śrūtau ca brahmety
- 12 anena | tad evaṃ anyasya tadicchādhīnasattākatvena  
 vyabhicārisattākatvam āyāti | tad  
 evaṃ atra tad etad avadhi vyabhicārisattākam eva dhyātavanto  
 vāyam idānīm tv  
 avyabhicārisattākam dhyāyemeti bhāvaḥ | atha paratvam eva  
 vyanakti dhāmneti |  
 dhāmaśabdenātra prabhāva ucyate prakāśo vā |  
 gṛhadehatvīṣṭprabhāvā dhāmānīty

<sup>1</sup> After "vyaktam asti" on line 6, K<sub>1</sub> inserts the following:

tad evaṃ <saṃ>pratisaṃkalpyamānām yad upāsanam tat phalabhūtasya  
bhagavataḥ paramārthatvāt mukhyavṛttasatyapadārthatvena  
kṛtacakarmātmopāsanaṃ phalabhūtasya svargāder vyāvahārikasatyatvābhivyaktyā  
naśvaratvaṃ vyañjayan karmaṇaḥ pūrvavṛttatvam alpāsthiraphalatvādīlakṣaṇata  
(end of folio).

The next folio is missing. For a likely continuation of this passage, see similar passage found in J<sub>1</sub> (next page, footnote 1). K<sub>1</sub> resumes three pages later.

<sup>2</sup> 1 śrīrāmānuja] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, rāmānuja A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> • mīmāṃsā] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, mīmāsā D • bhāgajñātasya] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhāvagajñātasya A<sub>1</sub>, bhāgajñātasya <karmajñānaṃ> J<sub>2</sub> 2 phalatvāt] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> phalatvaṃ A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, • jñānasya] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, jñānasya tu A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 3 anantākṣayaphalatvāc ca] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, anantākṣayaphalatvaṃ śrūyate DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, anantaphalatvaṃ śrūyate A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, • pūrvavṛttāt] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, ataḥ pūrvavṛttantāt A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ataḥ pūrvam vṛttāt J<sub>2</sub>, tataḥ pūrvavṛttāt D • jñānād anantaram tata eva hetor] J<sub>1</sub>, jñānād ana<ntara>ntata eva hetor K<sub>1</sub>, jñānād anantaram DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, jñānānantaram A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 4 bhavati] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhavatīti P<sub>gd</sub> • sarvādivṛtti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sarvāvṛtti A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • vṛttāt] A<sub>1</sub>DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vṛttāt <pūrvoktāt> J<sub>1</sub>, vṛttāt <???> J<sub>2</sub> 5 vividiṣeti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vividiṣati A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • iti] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, om. D 6 dakṣiṇavāma] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dakṣiṇavāmayoḥ J<sub>1</sub> • śabdāniruktau] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, niruktau A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 7 keṣucid vākyeṣu] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, cid vākyeṣu A<sub>1</sub>, keṣu D 8 sattākatva] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sattātva D 9 parama] J<sub>1</sub>, paramatama A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, paramatvam P<sub>ga</sub>, paratama P<sub>cd</sub> • eva] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, e J<sub>2</sub> 10 asyārthe labdhe] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, asyārthe ladhve A<sub>1</sub>, asyārthalabdhe D • sarvasattādātra vyabhicāri] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sarvasattādātra<hya>vyabhicāri D, sarvasattādāv avyabhicāri P<sub>cd</sub>, sarvasattvād atravyabhicāri P<sub>ga</sub>, sarvatravyabhicāri P<sub>gha</sub> 11 ity anena] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ityameva A<sub>1</sub> 12 anyasya] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, anyasya <karmaṇaḥ> J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • icchā] DP<sub>cd</sub>, ichā A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • āyāti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, āyātī A<sub>1</sub> • tad evaṃ atra] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub> 13 dhyātavanto] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dhyāyanto J<sub>1</sub> • vayam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vayām A<sub>1</sub> 15 dhāmaśabdenātra] J<sub>1</sub>, atha dhāmaśabdena A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, atra dhāmaśabdena DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> • grha] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, geḥa J<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> 1 mīmāṃsā . . . vividiṣeti (line 5), Śrībhāṣya 1.1.1 p. 4 6 pīṭhū and devahū, Bhāgavata 4.25.50–51 11 satyaṃ . . . brahma, Taittirīya 2.1.2 15 grha . . . dhāmāni, Amarakośa 3.3.124



- <sup>1,2,3</sup>amarādinānārthavargāt | na tu svarūpam | tathā  
 kuhakaśabdenātra pratāraṇakṛd ucyate |  
 tac ca jīvasvarūpāvaraṇavikṣepakāritvādinā māyāvaibhavam eva |  
 tataś ca svena dhāmnā  
 svaprabhāvarūpayā svaprakāśarūpayā vā śaktyā sadā nityam eva  
 nirastaṁ kuhakaṁ
- 4 māyāvaibhavaṁ yasmāt tam | tad uktaṁ māyāṁ vyudasya  
 cicchaktyeti | tasyā api śakter  
 āgantukatvena svenety asya vaiyarthyaṁ syāt | svasvarūpeṇety  
 eva vyākhyāne tu svenety  
 anenaiva caritārthatā syāt | yathā kathañcit tathā vyākhyānepi  
 kuhakanirasanalakṣaṇā  
 śaktir evāpadyate | sā ca sādhakatamatā rūpayā tṛtīyayā vyakteti |  
 etena
- 8 māyātatkāryavilakṣaṇaṁ yad vastu tat tasya svarūpam iti  
 svarūpalakṣaṇaṁ api gamyam |  
 tac ca satyaṁ jñānam anantaṁ brahmeti vijñānam ānandaṁ  
 brahmeti | śrutiprasiddham  
 eva | etac chrutilakṣaṇam eva ca satyam iti vinyastam | tad evaṁ  
 svarūpaśaktiś ca sāksād  
 evopakrāntā ataḥ sutarāṁ evāśya bhagavattvaṁ spaṣṭam | atha  
 mukhye satyatve yuktiṁ
- 12 darśayati yatreti | brahmatvāt sarvatra sthite vāsudeve bhagavati  
 yasmin sthitas trayāṇāṁ  
 guṇānāṁ bhūtendriyadevatātmako yasyaiveśituḥ sargopy ayam  
 amṛṣā śuktyādau  
 rajatādikam ivāropito na bhavati | kintu yato vā imānīti  
 śrutiprasiddhe brahmaṇi yatra  
 sarvadā sthitatvāt samjñāmūrtikṣiptis tu trivṛtkurvata upadeśād iti  
 nyāyena yad

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>1</sub> has the following reading, starting line 2.

...māyāvaibhavam eva | tad uktaṁ māyām vyudasya cicchaktyeti (tasyā  
api ... gamyam) tad evaṁ saṁpratisaṁkalpyamānām yaṁ nididhyāsanam tat  
phalabhūtasya bhagavataḥ paramārthatvān mukhyavṛttasatyapadārthatvena  
kṛtacakarmūtmopāsanaṁ phalabhūtasya svargāder vyāvahārikasatyavābhivyaktyā  
naśvaratvaṁ vyañjayan karmaṇaḥ pūrvavṛttatvam alpāsthīraphalatvādīlakṣaṇa-  
tadyāthārthyaññānasya ca hetutvaṁ kroḍhakaroti mukhyaṁ satyatvam eva vyanakti  
svena dhāmnā svarūpaśaktyā sadā nityam eva nirastaṁ kuhakam māyāvaibhavaṁ  
yasmāt taṁ | *It then continues with tasyā api (for a second time), with a few  
differences from the first instance.*

In summary, J<sub>1</sub> omits the text from *eva tataś* (line 2) to *yasmāt taṁ* (line 4), and repeats the text from *tasyā api* (line 4) to *api gamyam* (line 8), placing the first instance within parentheses. Between the repetitions, it inserts the paragraph given above.

In order to distinguish the readings of the two instances in the apparatus below, (J<sub>1</sub>) will signify the reading of the first instance.

<sup>2</sup> 1 nānārthavargāt] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, nānārthāvargāt A<sub>1</sub> 2 vikṣepakāritvādinā] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
vikṣepakāditvādinā J<sub>1</sub> • svena] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, śvenā A<sub>1</sub> 3 nirastaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, nirasta J<sub>2</sub> 4 taṁ]  
A<sub>1</sub>DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. J<sub>2</sub> 5 āgantukatvena] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, āgantukatve (J<sub>1</sub>) • eva] A<sub>1</sub>D(J<sub>1</sub>)J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
eveti J<sub>1</sub>, evaṁ P<sub>ed</sub> 6 caritārthatā] D(J<sub>1</sub>)J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, caritārthata A<sub>1</sub>, caritārthatā V<sub>1</sub> (post corr.) •  
nirasana] A<sub>1</sub>D(J<sub>1</sub>)J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, nirasanaiva J<sub>1</sub> • lakṣaṇā] A<sub>1</sub>D(J<sub>1</sub>)J<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, lakṣaṇa J<sub>2</sub> 7 sā ... vyakteti  
om. J<sub>1</sub> • sādhakatamatā] A<sub>1</sub>D(J<sub>1</sub>)J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>, sādhakatama P<sub>ed</sub> • rūpayā] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, rūpā  
D(J<sub>1</sub>)P<sub>na</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub> • tṛtīyayā] D(J<sub>1</sub>)J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tṛtīyayā A<sub>1</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub> 8 vijñānam ... śruti om. J<sub>1</sub> 9  
ānandaṁ] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ānanda A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 11 upakrāntā ataḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, upakrānto ataḥ A<sub>1</sub>, upakrāntā  
tataḥ P<sub>ed</sub> • mukhye] J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>, <mukhye> V<sub>1</sub> 12 brahmatvāt ... bhagavati om. J<sub>1</sub> •  
sthitaḥ] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, sthita A<sub>1</sub>DV<sub>1</sub>, sthitaṁ J<sub>1</sub> 13 ātmako yasyaiveśituḥ sargopy ayam] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
ātmakajagat sargoyam J<sub>1</sub> 14 kintu ... satya eva (next page, line 1) om. J<sub>1</sub> • brahmaṇi]  
DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, braṇi A<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> 4 māyām ... chaktyā, Bhāgavata 1.7.23 9 satyaṁ ... brahma, Taittirīya 2.1.2 • vijñānam  
ānandaṁ brahma, Bṛhadāraṇyaka 3.9.28 14 yato vā imāni, Taittirīya 3.1.1 15 saṁjñā  
... upadeśāt, Brahmasūtra 2.4.20

- <sup>1,2,3</sup>ekakartṛkatvāc ca satya eva | tatra dr̥ṣṭāntēnāpy amṛṣātvaṁ  
sādhayati teja-ādīnām  
vinimayaḥ parasparāṁśavyatyayaḥ parasparasminn  
am̐śenāvasthitir ity arthaḥ | sa yathā  
mṛṣā na bhavati kintu yathaiveśvaranirmāṇam tathety arthaḥ |  
imās tisro devatās trivṛd
- 4 ekaikā bhavati | yad agne rohitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasas tadrūpaṁ yac  
chuklaṁ tad apāṁ yat  
kṛṣṇam tad annasyeti śruteḥ | tad evam arthasyāśya śrutimūlatvāt  
kalpanāmūlas tv  
anyārthaḥ svata eva parāstaḥ | tatra ca sāmānyatayā nirdiṣṭānām  
teja-ādīnām viśeṣatve  
saṅkramaṇam na śābdikānām hṛdayamadhyārohati | yadi ca tad  
evāmaṁsyata tadā
- 8 vāryādīni marīcikādiṣu yathety evāvakṣyata | kiṁ ca tanmate  
brahmatas trisargasya  
mukhyaṁ janma nāsti kintvāropa eva janmety ucyate | sa punar  
bhramād eva bhavati |  
bhramaś ca sādṛśyāvalambī | sādṛśyaṁ tu kālabhedenobhayaṁ  
evādhiṣṭhānam karoti |  
rajatepi śuktibhramasambhavāt | na caikātmakam  
bhramādhiṣṭhānam bahvātmakam tu
- 12 bhramakalpitam ity asti niyamo mitho militeṣu  
vidūravartidhūmaparvatavṛkṣeṣv  
akhaṇḍameghabhramasambhavāt | tad evam prakṛtepy anādita  
eva trisargaḥ pratyakṣam  
pratīyate | brahma ca cinmātratayā svata eva sphurad asti |  
tasmād anādyajñānākrāntasya  
jīvasya yathā sadrūpatāsādṛśyena brahmaṇi

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>1</sub> skips from *bhavati* (line 4) to *ayam abhiprāyaḥ* (next page, line 4). It cites the passage *yad agne . . . annasya* before *imās tisro . . .*

<sup>2</sup> I ekakartṛkatvāc] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ekakartṛtvāc D • dr̥ṣṭāntēnāpy amṛṣātvaṁ sādhayati] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, amṛṣātre dr̥ṣṭāntēnāpy amṛṣyatvaṁ sādhayati A<sub>1</sub>, <amṛṣātre> dr̥ṣṭāntēnāpy amṛṣātvaṁ sādhayati V<sub>1</sub>, amṛṣātve dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ J<sub>1</sub> • ādīnām] DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ādīnām A<sub>1</sub> 2 paraspara] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, parasparaspara A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • ity arthaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, iti <arthaḥ> J<sub>2</sub> 3 kintu yathaiveśvaranirmāṇam tathety arthaḥ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tathā ca ?atiḥ J<sub>1</sub> • imās] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, hantemās DJ<sub>2</sub> • tisro] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (post corr.) P<sub>cd</sub>, triyo A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (ante corr.) 4 bhavati] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ity ādi D, i<tyā>di J<sub>2</sub> 5 tad annasya] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, tat prthivyaḥ tad annasya P<sub>cd</sub> • iti] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, yataḥ J<sub>1</sub> 6 anyārthaḥ] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, anyorthaḥ DP<sub>cd</sub> • nirdiṣṭānām] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nirdiṣṭānām A<sub>1</sub> 8 avakṣyata] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, avakṣyate D • kiṁ ca] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, kintu D 11 sambhavāt] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <sa>mbhavāt D 13 evam] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, eva A<sub>1</sub>, evam <māyāprakarane> J<sub>2</sub> 14 trisargaḥ] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, trisarga A<sub>1</sub>, trisargaḥ trisarga V<sub>1</sub> • cinmātratayā] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, cinmātrayā A<sub>1</sub> • sphurad asti] DA<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sphurati P<sub>gha</sub>

<sup>3</sup> 3 imās . . . bhavati, Chāndogya 6.3.4 4 yad agne . . . annasya, Chāndogya 6.4.1

- <sup>1,2,3</sup> trisargabhramaḥ syāt tathā trisargepi brahmabhramaḥ katharāṁ na  
 kadācit syāt | tataś ca  
 brahmaṇa evādhiṣṭhānatvam ity anirṇaye sarvanāśaprasaṅgaḥ |  
 āropakatvaṁ tu jaḍasyeva  
 cinmātrasyāpi na sambhavati | brahma ca cinmātram eva tanmatam iti |  
 tataś ca śrutimūla
- 4 eva vyākhyāne siddhe soyam abhiprāyaḥ | yatra hi yan nāsti kintv  
 anyatraiva dr̥śyate  
 tatraiva tadāropaḥ siddhaḥ | tataś ca vastutas tadayogāt tatra tatsattayā  
 tatsattā kartum na  
 śakyata eva | trisargasya tu tacchaktiviśiṣṭād bhagavato mukhyavṛttiyaiva  
 jātatvena  
 śrutatvāt tadvyatirekeṇa vyatirekāt tatraiva sarvātmake sosti | tatas  
 tasmin na cāropitaś ca |
- 8 āropas tu tathāpi dhāmnety ādirītyaivācintyaśaktivāt tena  
 liptatvābhāvepi tacchaṅkārūpa  
 eva | tathā ca ekadeśasthitasyāgner jyotsnā vistāriṇī yathety anusāreṇa  
 tatsattayā tatsattā  
 bhavati | tato bhagavato mukhyaṁ satyatvaṁ trisargasya na mṛṣātvam  
 iti | tathā ca śrutiḥ  
 satyasya satyam iti tathā prāṇā vai satyaṁ teṣāṁ eṣa satyam iti |  
 prāṇaśabdoditānām
- 12 sthūlasūkṣmabhūtānām vyavahārataḥ satyatvenādhigatānām  
 mūlakāraṇabhūtaṁ  
 paramasatyaṁ bhagavantaṁ darśayati | atha tam eva taṭasthalakṣaṇena  
 ca tathā vyañjayan  
 viśadārthatayā brahmasūtrāṇām eva vivṛtir iyaṁ saṁhiteti bibodhayiṣayā  
 ca tadanantaram  
 sūtram eva prathamam anuvadati janmādy asya yata iti |

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>1</sub> has the following reading for *tacchakti* (line 6) ... *tatraiva* (line 7):  
*tacchaktiviśiṣṭabhaḥavadvyatirekeṇātyantābhāvāt tatraiva* ...

K<sub>1</sub> resumes with *vyatirekeṇātyantābhāvāt tatraiva*, which seems to be the same alternative reading found in J<sub>1</sub> for *tacchakti* (line 6) ... *tatraiva* (line 7).

<sup>2</sup> 4 abhiprāyaḥ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, bhāvaḥ J<sub>1</sub> • yan] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 5 āropaḥ] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, āropa A<sub>1</sub> • tad ayogāt] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tad ayogāt <rajatatvayogāt> V<sub>1</sub>, tu tad ayogāt P<sub>ed</sub> • tatra] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tatra <śuktau> V<sub>1</sub> • tatsattayā] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tatsattayā <śuktisattayā> V<sub>1</sub> • tatsattā] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tatsattā <rajatasattā> V<sub>1</sub> 6 tacchakti] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tacchakti <trisargaka?> V<sub>1</sub> 7 na] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, nāsāv J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 8 tathāpi] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tena paramēśvarasya J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • rītyaiva] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, rītyeva A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • tena] A<sub>1</sub>DP<sub>ed</sub>, tena <trisargeṇa> V<sub>1</sub>, tena <tena trisargeṇa> J<sub>2</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • tacchaṅkārūpa] A<sub>1</sub>DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tatpratrayarūpa J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, tacchaṅkārūpa <liptatvaśaṅkārūpa> J<sub>2</sub> 9 ekadeśasthitasyāgner jyotsnā vistāriṇī yathety anusāreṇa] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, dīpatajjyotsnāvistāravat J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 10 bhagavato] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, paramēśvarasya J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • trisargasya] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, trisargasya ca DP<sub>ed</sub> • mṛṣātvam] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (post corr.), mithyātvam J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (ante corr.) P<sub>ed</sub> 11 tathā] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. D • eṣa] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, eva A<sub>1</sub>DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub> 12 sthūlasūkṣmabhūtānām] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub> • vyavahārataḥ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, vyavahārataś ca K<sub>1</sub> • bhūtaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, bhūta J<sub>2</sub> 13 bhagavantaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, paramēśvaraṁ J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • darśayati] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, darśayatiti A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub> • ca tathā] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tathā D, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • vyañjayan] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, vyañjayan prathamam DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub> 14 vivṛtir] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (post corr.) P<sub>ed</sub>, vivṛtir A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (ante corr.) 15 prathamam] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> 9 ekadeśa ... yathā, Viṣṇu 1.22.54 11 satyasya ... eva satyam, Bṛhadāraṇyaka 2.1.20 15 janmādy asya yataḥ, Brahmasūtra 1.1.2



- <sup>1,2</sup>janmādīti sr̥ṣṭisthitipralayam | tadguṇasamvijñāno bahuvrīhiḥ |  
asya viśvasya  
brahmādistambaparyantānekakartṛbhokṛsamyuktasya  
pratiniyatadeśakālanimittakriyāphalāśrayasya manasāpy  
4 acintyavividhavicitraracanārūpasya yato yasmād acintyaśaktyā  
svayam upādānarūpāt  
kartrādirūpāc ca janmādi taṁ param dhīmahiṭy anvayaḥ | atra  
viśayāvākyaṁ ca bhṛgur vai  
vāruṇir varuṇaṁ pītaram upasasāra adhīhi bhagavo brahmety  
ārabhya yato vā imāni  
bhūtāni jāyante yena jātāni jīvanti yat prayanty abhisamviśanti  
tad vijijñāsasva tad  
8 brahmeti tat tejosrjatety ādi ca | janmādikam ihopalakṣaṇaṁ na  
tu viśeṣaṇam | tatas  
taddhyāne tan na praviśati | kintu śuddha eva sa dhyeya iti | kiṁ  
cātra prāg  
uktaviśeṣaṇaviśiṣṭaviśvajanmādes tādṛśahetutvena sarvaśaktitvaṁ  
satyasaṅkalpatvaṁ  
sarvajñatvaṁ sarveśvaratvaṁ ca tasya sūcitam | yaḥ sarvajñaḥ  
sarvavid yasya jñānamayaṁ  
12 tapaḥ sarvasya vaśīty ādi śruteḥ | tathā paratvena  
nirastākhiḷaheyapratyanīkasvarūpatvaṁ  
jñānādyanantakalyāṇaguṇatvaṁ ca sūcitam | na tasya kāryaṁ  
karaṇaṁ ca vidyata ity ādi  
śruteḥ | ye tu nirviśeṣaṁ vastu jijñāsyam iti vadanti tanmate  
brahmajijñāsāyām  
janmādyasya yata ity asaṅgataṁ syāt | niratiśayabṛhad bṛmhaṇaṁ  
ceti nirvacanāt | tac ca

<sup>1</sup> 1 janmādīti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, janmād iti A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 2 paryantāneka] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, paryantam aka  
DP<sub>na</sub>P<sub>ja</sub> 4 acintyaśaktyā svayam upādānarūpāt kartrādirūpāc ca] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, acintya  
... kartrādirūpāc ca D, om. K<sub>1</sub> 6 adhīhi] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, adhīhi bho J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, adhīmahi D • ity  
ārabhya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, iti ārabhya A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 7 jīvanti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • abhisamviśanti]  
A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, abhiviśanti J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • tad vijijñāsasva] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tad vijijñāsasva <tad vijjñātum  
icchasva> D 8 tat tejosrjatety ādi ca] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tat tejosrjatoty ādi ca A<sub>1</sub>, <tat tejosrjatety  
ādi ca> K<sub>1</sub> • viśeṣaṇaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, viśeṣaṇaṁ <viśeṣaṇaṁ cet svarūpabhūtaṁ bhavati> V<sub>1</sub> 9  
śuddha eva sa dhyeya iti] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, śuddham eva taddhyeyam iti DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, śuddham eva dhyeyam  
ity āyāti K<sub>1</sub>, śuddha eva dhyeya iti P<sub>ja</sub> • cātra] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, cātre A<sub>1</sub>, ca atra J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub> 10 janmādes  
tādṛśa] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, janmāditādṛśa D, janmādi K<sub>1</sub> 11 After sarvajñaḥ, A<sub>1</sub> repeats prāg ...  
hetutvena (line 10). • <yaḥ ... śruteḥ> K<sub>1</sub> 12 tapaḥ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tapaḥ yaḥ J<sub>1</sub> 13 guṇatvaṁ  
ca] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, guṇatva ca A<sub>1</sub>, guṇatvaṁ P<sub>ed</sub> • <na ... śruteḥ> K<sub>1</sub> 14 jijñāsyam] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
jijñāsyam K<sub>1</sub> 15 yata] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, yatonvayād A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • bṛhad] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, bṛhat A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>  
<sup>2</sup> 1 janmādi ... asya, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.2 p. 272 4 acintyavividharacanā, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.2 p. 272 6  
bhṛgur ... tad brahma, Taittirīya 3.1.1 8 tat tejosrjata, Chāndogya 6.2.3 11 yaḥ ... tapaḥ,  
Muṇḍaka 1.1.9 12 sarvasya vaśī, Bṛhadāraṇyaka 4.4.22 • akhila ... guṇa, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.2  
p. 272–73 13 na ... vidyate, Śvetāśvatara 6.8 14 ye tu ... tucchataiva syāt (next page, line 8),  
Śrībhāṣya 1.1.2 p. 283–84

- <sup>1,2</sup>brahma jagajjanmādikāraṇam iti vacanāc ca | evam uttareṣv api  
sūtreṣu  
sūtrodāhṛtaśrutigaṇe cekṣaṇādyanvayadarśanāt sūtrāṇi  
sūtrodāhṛtaśrutayaś ca na tatra  
pramāṇam | tarkaś ca  
sādhyadharmāvyabhicārisādhanadharmānvitavastuviṣayatvān na  
4 nirviṣeṣavastuni pramāṇam | jagajjanmādidbhamo yatas tad  
brahmeti svotprekṣāpakṣe ca  
na nirviṣeṣavastusiddhiḥ | bhramamūlam ajñānam ajñānasākṣi  
brahmety upagamāt |  
sākṣitvaṁ hi prakāsaikarasatayocyate | prakāśatvaṁ tu jaḍād  
vyāvartakaṁ svasya parasya  
ca vyavahārayogyatāpādanasvabhāvena bhavati | tathā sati  
saviṣeṣatvaṁ tadabhāve  
8 prakāśataiva na syāt | tucchataiva syāt | kiṁ ca tejovārimḍam ity  
anenaiva teṣāṁ  
vivakṣitaṁ setsyatīti janmādyasya yata ity aprayojakaṁ syāt | atas  
tadviṣeṣavattve labdhe sa  
ca viṣeṣaḥ śaktirūpa eva | śaktiś cāntarāṅgā bahiraṅgā taṭasthā  
ceti tridhā darśitā | tatra  
vikārātmakeṣu jagajjanmādiṣu sākṣāddhetutā bahiraṅgāyā eva  
syād iti sā māyākhyā  
12 copakrāntā | taṭasthā ca vayaṁ dhīmahiṭy anena | atha yadyapi  
bhagavatomśāt  
tadupādānabhūtaprakṛtyākhyasaktivīṣiṣāt puruṣād evāsya  
janmādi tathāpi bhagavaty eva  
taddhetutā paryavasyati | samudraikadeśe yasya janmādi tasya  
samudra eva janmādīti |  
tathoktam

<sup>1</sup> 2 sūtrodāhṛta] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sūtrodāharaṇa D • cekṣaṇa] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, cakṣaṇa A<sub>1</sub> • tatra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, atra A<sub>1</sub>, atra <nirviṣeṣe> V<sub>1</sub> 4 bhamo] D (post. corr.) A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhramā D (ante corr.) J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • svotprekṣāpakṣe] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sotprokṣāpakṣe A<sub>1</sub>, sotprekṣāpakṣe DV<sub>1</sub> 5 ajñānam ajñānasākṣi] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ajñānam sākṣi J<sub>1</sub>, ajñānasākṣi DK<sub>1</sub> • brahmety upagamāt] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, brahmeti upagamāt J<sub>2</sub> 6 prakāśatvaṁ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, prakāśa<ka>tvaṁ J<sub>2</sub> • jaḍād] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, jaḍādi D 7 ca] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub>DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • yogyatāpādāna] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, yogyatāpādāna A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> • svabhāvena] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sva<rūpeṇa> J<sub>2</sub> • tadabhāve] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tad<tasya viṣeṣasya>abhāve D, tadabhāve <saviṣeṣatvāve> V<sub>1</sub> 8 na] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <na> D • tucchataiva syāt] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. A<sub>1</sub>, <tucchataiva syāt> D • <kiṁ ca . . . syāt (line 9)> K<sub>1</sub> • teṣāṁ] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, teṣāṁ <viṣeṣāṇām> D 9 tad] A<sub>1</sub>DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tattad J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 13 ākhyā] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ākhyā D • 14 hetutā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, hetuhatā\* A<sub>1</sub> 15 tathoktam] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, yathoktam J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 8 tucchataiva syāt (end of quote which begins on previous page, line 14), Śrībhāṣya 1.1.2 p. 283–84

- <sup>1,2</sup>prakṛtir hy asyopādānam ādhāraḥ puruṣaḥ paraḥ |  
 satobhivyañjakaḥ kālo brahma tat tritayaṁ tv aham || iti |  
 tasya ca bhagavato janmādyasya yata ity anenāpi mūrtatvam eva  
 lakṣyate | yato mūrtasya
- 4 jagato mūrtisakter nidhānarūpatādr̥śānantaparaśaktinām  
 nidhānarūposāv ity ākṣipyate |  
 tasya paramakāraṇatvaṅgikārāt | na ca tasya mūrtatve saty  
 anyato janmāpatet  
 anavasthāpatter ekasyaivāditvenāṅgikārāt sāṅkhyānām  
 avyaktasyeva |  
 sa kāraṇaṁ karaṇādhipādhipo
- 8 na cāsyā kaścijjanitā na cādhipaḥ |  
 iti śrutiniṣedhāt | anādisiddhāprākṛtasvābhāvikamūrtitvena tasya  
 tatprasiddheś ca | tad  
 evaṁ mūrtatve siddhe sa ca mūrto  
 viṣṇunārāyaṇādisākṣādrūpakaḥ śrībhagavān eva  
 nānyaḥ | tathā ca dānadharme
- 12 yataḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhavanty ādiyugāgame |  
 yasmimś ca pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yugakṣaye ||  
 ity ādikarṇ tatpratipādakasahasranāmādau tatraiva tu yathoktam  
 anirdeśyavapuḥ śrīmān  
 iti | evaṁ ca skānde

<sup>1</sup> 1 hy asyo] J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ya\_syo A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, yasyo DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • upādānam ādhāraḥ] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, upādāna <m  
 ā>dh<ā>raḥ D 2 tv aham] A<sub>1</sub>DK<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tv aham J<sub>1</sub>, tv a <ha>am J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 3 yata] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
 yatonvayād A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • lakṣyate] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, labhyate P<sub>gha</sub> • yato] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> 4  
 mūrtisakter] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, mūrte <śakte>r K<sub>1</sub>, mūrtisakter <mūrtiyupādakakṣateḥ> V<sub>1</sub> •  
 <rūpatādr̥śa . . . nidhāna> J<sub>1</sub> (eyeskip) 5 kāraṇatvaṅgikārāt] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, kāraṇatvaṅgikārāt  
 A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • saty anyato] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, satī anyato J<sub>1</sub>, saty a <nya>to K<sub>2</sub> 6 evāditvena] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
 evā <nā>ditvena V<sub>1</sub> • <sāṅkhyānām avyaktasyeva> K<sub>1</sub> • sāṅkhyānām] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
 saṅkhyānām D 7 karaṇā] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, karaṇā A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, kaāraṇa J<sub>2</sub> 8 cāsyā] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, vāsyā  
 A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 9 niṣedhāt] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, niṣedhāt <anyato janmābhāvaḥ> V<sub>1</sub> • tatprasiddheś]  
 A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tat <śrutau> prasiddheś V<sub>1</sub> 10 viṣṇu] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, viṣṇur A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 11 tathā ca]  
 A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, tathā ca mahābhārata K<sub>1</sub>, tathā ca dānadharme P<sub>ed</sub> 14 <tatraiva . . . śrīmān>  
 K<sub>1</sub> 15 iti] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ity ādi J<sub>1</sub>, <iti> K<sub>1</sub> • evaṁ ca] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ata eva P<sub>gha</sub>

<sup>2</sup> prakṛtir . . . tv aham, Bhāgavata 11.24.19 7 sa . . . cādhipaḥ, Śvetāśvatara 9.9 12  
 yataḥ . . . yugakṣaye, Mahābhārata (Anuśāsanaparva) 13.135.11, quoted in Bhāvarthadīpikā  
 1.1.1 (Śrīdhara Svāmī attributes it simply to the smṛti.) 14 anirdeśyavapuḥ śrīmān,  
 Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra 19

- <sup>1,2</sup>sraṣṭhā pātā ca samhartā sa eko harir īśvaraḥ |  
sraṣṭṛtvādikam anyeṣāṁ dāruyoṣāvad ucyate ||  
ekadeśakriyāvattvān na tu sarvātmaneritam |  
4 sṛṣṭyādikam samastam tu viṣṇor eva param bhavet || iti |  
mahopaniṣadi ca sa brahmaṇā sṛjati sa rudreṇa vilāpayatīty  
ādikam | ata eva vivṛtaṁ  
nimittamātram īśasya viśvasarganirodhayoḥ |  
hiraṇyagarbhaḥ śarvaś ca kālasyārūpiṇas tava || iti |  
8 tava yo rūparahitaḥ kālaḥ kālaśaktis tasya nimittamātram iti  
vyadhikaraṇa eva ṣaṣṭhī |  
tathādyovatāraḥ puruṣaḥ parasyety ādi | yadamśatosya  
sthitijanmanāśā ity ādi ca | tad  
evam atrāpi tathāvidhamūrtir bhagavān evopakrāntaḥ | atha  
taṣasthalakṣaṇena param  
nirdhārya tad eva lakṣaṇam brahmasūtre śāstrayonitvāt tat tu  
samanvayād ity  
12 etatsūtradvayena sthāpitam asti | tatra pūrvasūtrasyārthaḥ | kuto  
brahmaṇo  
jagajjanmādihetutvaṁ tatrāha śāstraṁ yonir jñānakāraṇam yasya  
tattvāt | yato vā imānīty  
ādisāstrapramāṇakatvād iti | nātra darśanāntaravat  
tarkapramāṇakatvam |  
tarkāpratiṣṭhānād atyantatīndriyatvena  
pratyakṣādipramāṇaviśayatvād brahmaṇas ceti

<sup>1</sup> 1 eko] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, eka A<sub>1</sub>, ekaḥ V<sub>1</sub> 2 sraṣṭṛtvādikam] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sraṣṭṛtvādikam A<sub>1</sub>, sṛṣṭṛtvādikam D 3 eka] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, eka <bahiraṅgākāryam> J<sub>1</sub> 4 tu] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <hi> D 5 vilāpayatīty] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vilāpayatity A<sub>1</sub> 6 nimittamātram] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nimittam param A<sub>1</sub>, nimittam <mātram> param V<sub>1</sub>, nimittam param DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>jha</sub> 7 śarvaś] K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sarvaś A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, sarvaś (with some mark of correction over the "sa") D, <śarva>ś J<sub>1</sub>, ?arvaś J<sub>2</sub> 8 tava] A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tatra J<sub>1</sub> • mātram] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, mātratvam J<sub>1</sub> • ṣaṣṭhī] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ṣaṣṭhyau A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 9 aṁsato] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, aṁsato A<sub>1</sub> • After sthitija°, A<sub>1</sub> repeats °va yo rūparahitaḥ (line 8) . . . mātram iti. • nāśā] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nāśa A<sub>1</sub>J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, nāśaḥ V<sub>1</sub> 10 tathāvidha] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tathā tathāvidha J<sub>2</sub> • eva] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> • upakrāntaḥ] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, upakrāntaḥ <viṣṇunārāyaṇādisākṣādrūpaḥ> V<sub>1</sub> • atha] A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, tad evam DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 11 nirdhārya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nidhārya A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • lakṣaṇam] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <taṣastha>lakṣaṇam V<sub>1</sub> • After samanvayād i°, A<sub>1</sub> repeats ca tad (line 9) . . . tathāvidha. 13 tatrāha] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tatrā A<sub>1</sub> • śāstraṁ] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, śāstra A<sub>1</sub>, śāstra J<sub>1</sub> • imāni] A<sub>1</sub>DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, imāni bhūtāni P<sub>cd</sub> 15 indriyatvena] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, indrayatvena A<sub>1</sub> • pramāṇā] DK<sub>1</sub>, pramāṇa A<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, pramāṇād J<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 1 sraṣṭhā . . . bhavet (line 4), Skanda (?) 5 sa brahmaṇā . . . vilāpayati, Mahopaniṣad (?) 6 nimitta . . . arūpiṇas tava, Bhāgavata 10.71.8 9 ādya . . . parasya, Bhāgavata 2.6.42 • yad . . . nāśā, Bhāgavata 6.9.12 11 śāstrayonitvāt, Brahmasūtra 1.1.3 • tat tu samanvayād, Brahmasūtra 1.1.4 13 yato . . . bhūtāni, Taittirīya 3.1.1 15 tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt, Brahmasūtra 2.1.11 • atyanta . . . brahmaṇaḥ, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.3 p. 286



- <sup>1,2</sup>bhāvaḥ | vaināśikās tv avirodhādhyāye tarkeṇaiva  
nirākariṣyante | atra tarkāpratiṣṭhānam  
caivam īśvaraḥ kartā na bhavati prayojanaśūnyatvān  
muktātmavat | tanubhuvanādikaṁ  
jīvakartṛkaṁ kāryatvāt ghaṭavat | vimativīṣayaḥ kālo na  
lokaśūnyaḥ kālatvāt
- 4 vartamānakālavat ity ādi | tad evaṁ  
darśānānugūṇyeneśvarānumānam  
darśānāntaraprātikūlyaparāhatam iti śāstraikapramāṇakaḥ  
parabrahmabhūtaḥ sarveśvaraḥ  
puruṣottamaḥ | śāstraṁ tu  
sakaletarapramāṇaparidṛṣṭasamastavastuvijātīyasārvañjñyasatya-  
nkalpatvādimiśrānavadhikātiśayāparimitodāravicitraguṇasāgarāṁ
- 8 nikhilaheyapratyanīkasvarūpaṁ pratipādayatīti na  
pramāṇāntarāvasitavastusādharṁyaprayuktadoṣagandhaḥ | ataeva  
svābhāvikanāntanīyamūrtimattvam api tasya sidhyati |  
athottarasūtrasyārthaḥ |  
brahmaṇaḥ kathaṁ śāstrapramāṇakatvaṁ tatrāha tat tv iti | tu  
śabdaḥ
- 12 prasaktāśaṅkānivṛttiyarthaḥ | tacchāstrapramāṇakatvaṁ  
brahmaṇaḥ sambhavaty eva |  
kutaḥ samanvayāt | anvayavyatirekābhyām upapādanam  
samanvayas tasmāt | tatrānvayaḥ  
satyaṁ jñānam anantaṁ brahmeti | ānando brahmeti ekam  
evādvitīyaṁ brahmeti | tat  
satyaṁ sa ātmeti | sad eva somyedam agra āsīt iti | brahma vā  
idam ekam evāgra āsīt iti |

<sup>1</sup> 1 vaināśikās] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, vaināśikās <nāstikāḥ> D, vaināśikās <baudhādayaḥ> J<sub>1</sub>, vaināśikās <bodhādayaḥ> V<sub>1</sub> • <vaināśikās <baudhādayaḥ> ... nirākariṣyante> K<sub>1</sub> 2 tanu] D (ante corr.) J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, nanu D (post corr.) P<sub>ed</sub>, na tu J<sub>1</sub> • bhuvana] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, bhuvāna V<sub>1</sub> 3 viṣayaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, viṣayam J<sub>2</sub>, viṣayaḥ <vicāraspadaḥ> V<sub>1</sub> 4 anumānam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, anumānam tu P<sub>ed</sub> 5 prātikūlya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, prātigūnya K<sub>1</sub> • pramāṇakaḥ DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, prāmāṇikaḥ P<sub>ha</sub> • paridṛṣṭa] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, pari<śi>ṣṭa D 6 sārvañjña] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, sarvañña D, sārvañña J<sub>1</sub>, sārvañña K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • satya] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, <satya> J<sub>1</sub> 10 sidhyati] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, sidhyatīti P<sub>ed</sub> 13 samanvayas] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, samanvayanva D, samanvayaḥ J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • K<sub>1</sub> and D provide the following quotations after tatrānvayaḥ, in this order: yato vā ... , sad eva ... , ekam eva ... , tad aikṣata ... , tat tejo ... , brahma vā ... , ātmā vā ... , tasmād vā ... , eko ha ... , satyaṁ jñānam ... , ānando brahma ... 14 J<sub>1</sub>, K<sub>1</sub>, and D omit all the “iti”s in lines 14 and 15. 15 ekam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. V<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 2 īśvaraḥ ... vartamānakālavat iti, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.3 p. 302 5 darśānānugūṇyena ... gandhaḥ (line 9), Śrībhāṣya 1.1.3 p. 304–05 11 tu śabdaḥ ... samanvayāt, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.4 p. 307–08 14 satyaṁ jñānam anantaṁ brahma, Taittirīya 2.1.2 • ānando brahma, Taittirīya 3.6.1 • ekam ... brahma, Chāndogya 6.2.1 • tat ... ātmā, Chāndogya 6.8.7 15 sad eva somyedam agra āsīt, Chāndogya 6.2.1 • brahma ... āsīt, Bṛhadāraṇyaka 1.4.10

- <sup>1,2</sup> ātmā vā idam eka evāgra āsīt puruṣavidha iti | puruṣo ha vai  
nārāyaṇa iti | eko ha vai  
nārāyaṇa āsīt iti | tad aikṣata bahu syām prajāyeyeti | tasmād vā  
etasmād ātmana ākāśaḥ  
sambhūta iti | tat tejosrjateti | yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyanta iti |  
puruṣo ha vai
- 4 nārāyaṇokāmayata atha nārāyaṇād ajojāyata yataḥ prajāḥ sarvāṇi  
bhūtāni |  
nārāyaṇaḥ param brahma tattvaṁ nārāyaṇaḥ param |  
ṛtaṁ satyaṁ param brahma puruṣaṁ kṛṣṇapiṅgalam | ity  
ādiṣu |  
atha vyatirekaḥ | katham asataḥ saj jāyeyeti | ko hy evānyāt kaḥ  
prāṇyād yad eṣa ākāśa
- 8 ānando na syād iti | eko ha vai nārāyaṇa āsīn na brahmā na ca  
śaṅkara ity ādiṣu | anyeṣāṁ  
ca vākyānāṁ samanvayas tatraiva vakṣyate | ānandamayobhyāsād  
ity ādinā | sa caivaṁ  
paramānandarūpatvenaiva samanvito bhavātīti tadupalabdhyaiva  
paramapuruṣārthasiddher na prayojanaśūnyatvam api | tad evaṁ  
sūtradhvayārthe sthite tad
- 12 etad vyācāṣṭe anvayāditarataś cārtheṣv iti | artheṣu nānāvidheṣu  
vedavākyārtheṣu satsu  
anvayād anvayamukhena yato yasmād ekasmād asya janmādi  
pratīyate tathetarato  
vyatirekamukhena ca yasmād evāsyā tat pratīyata ity arthaḥ |  
ataeva tasya  
śrūtyanvayavyatirekadarsītena paramasukharūpatvena  
paramapuruṣārthatvaṁ
- <sup>1</sup> 1 See previous page for the order of quotations given by K<sub>1</sub> and D. • ātmā vā idam eka eva]  
K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ātmaivedam D, ātmaivedam idam J<sub>1</sub>, ātmā vā idam eka evāgra āsīt iti ātmaivedam  
J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • J<sub>1</sub>, K<sub>1</sub>, and D omit all the “iti”s in lines 1–3. • puruṣo ha vai nārāyaṇa iti] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om.  
DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 2 prajāyeyeti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, prajāyeyetīti P<sub>ed</sub> 3 puruṣo . . . piṅgalam (line 6)] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
om. DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 6 ity ādiṣu] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, ity ādiḥ J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, ity ādiṣu ca P<sub>ed</sub> 7 saj jāyeta] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
sañjāyeta J<sub>1</sub> 8 syād iti] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, syād ity ādi D, syād J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • eko . . . śaṅkara] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, eko  
nārāyaṇa āsīn na brahmā<ā> na ca śaṅkara D, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • ity ādiṣu] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ity ādiḥ J<sub>1</sub> ity  
ādiḥ K<sub>1</sub> • <anyeṣāṁ . . . ity ādinā> K<sub>1</sub> 9 ca] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. D • caivaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, cevaṁ  
param J<sub>2</sub> 10 upalabdhyaiva] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, upalabhyaiva J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 11 puruṣārtha] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cha</sub>P<sub>ja</sub>,  
puruṣārthatva J<sub>2</sub>, puruṣārthatva P<sub>ed</sub> 12 iti] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. D • artheṣu] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
<artheṣu> D • nānāvidheṣu] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, nānāvidheṣv api DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub> 13 tathetarato] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tathā itaraś  
ca D, tathā itarataḥ J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, tathā itarato V<sub>1</sub> 14 evāsyā] J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, evāsyā <janmādi> D,  
evāsyā ca J<sub>1</sub> • ity arthaḥ] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, iti yojanā J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 15 rūpatvena] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, rūpatve D •  
puruṣārthatvaṁ] V<sub>1</sub>, puruṣārthatvaṁ ca DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, puruṣārtha<tvam> ca J<sub>2</sub>
- <sup>2</sup> 1 ātmā . . . puruṣavidha, Bhṛhadāraṇyaka 1.4.1 • puruṣo ha vai nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇopaniṣad  
1 • eko . . . āsīt, Mahopaniṣad 1.1 2 tad . . . prajāyeyeti, Chāndogya 6.2.3 •  
tasmād . . . sambhūtaḥ, Taittirīya 2.1.3 3 tat tejosrjata, Chāndogya 6.2.3 • yato . . . jāyante,  
Taittirīya 3.1.1 • puruṣo . . . bhūtāni, Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad (?) 5 nārāyaṇaḥ . . . nārāyaṇaḥ  
param, Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad 11.4 6 ṛtaṁ . . . piṅgalam, Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad 12.1 7  
katham . . . jāyeta, Chāndogya 6.2.2 • ko hy . . . na syāt, Taittirīya 2.7.1 8 eko . . . śaṅkara,  
Mahopaniṣad 1.1 9 ānandamayobhyāsāt, Brahmasūtra 1.1.12

- <sup>1,2</sup>dhvanitam | eko ha vai nārāyaṇa āsīd ity ādiśāstrapramāṇatvena  
prāk sthāpitarūpatvaṁ  
ceti | athekṣater nāśabdam iti vyācāṣṭe abhijñā iti | atra sūtrasyārthaḥ  
idam āmnāyate  
chāndogye sad eva somyedam agra āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṁ brahma  
tad aikṣata bahu syām
- 4 prajāyeyeti | tat tejosrjatety ādi | tatra paroktaṁ pradhānam api  
jagatkāraṇatvenāyāti | tac  
ca nety āha īkṣater iti | yasmin śabda eva pramāṇaṁ na bhavati tad  
āśabdam ānumānikaṁ  
pradhānam ity arthaḥ | na tad iha pratipādyam | kutośabdatvaṁ  
tasyety āśaṅkyāha īkṣateḥ  
| sacchabdavācya sambandhivyāpāra viśeṣābhidhāyina īkṣater dhātoḥ  
śravaṇāt | tad aikṣateti
- 8 īkṣaṇaṁ cācetane pradhāne na sambhavet | anyatra cekṣāpūrvikaiva  
sṛṣṭiḥ | sa aikṣata  
lokān u srjeti sa imān lokān asrjatety ādau | īkṣaṇaṁ cātra  
tadaśeṣasrjyavicārātmakatvāt  
sarvajñatvam eva kroḍīkaroti | tad etad āha abhijñā iti | nanu  
tadānīm ekam evādvitīyaṁ  
ity uktes tasyekṣaṇasādhanaṁ na sambhavati tatrāha svarāḍ iti |  
svasvarūpeṇaiva tathā
- 12 tathā rājata iti | na tasya kāryaṁ karaṇaṁ ca vidyata ity ādau  
svābhāviki jñānabalakriyā  
ceti śruteḥ | etenekṣaṇavanmūrtimattvam api svābhāvikam ity āyātam  
| niśvasitasyāpy agre  
darśaiṣyamāṇatvāt | tac ca yathoktam eveti ca | atha śāstrayonitvād  
ity asyārthāntaram  
vyācāṣṭe tena iti | tac cārthāntaraṁ yathā

<sup>1</sup> 1 dhvanitam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, niścitam P<sub>gha</sub> • pramāṇatvena] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, pramāṇatve D • rūpatvaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, rūpaṁ P<sub>gha</sub> 2 atra] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tatra J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • sūtrasyārthaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, sūtrārthaḥ P<sub>cd</sub> 3 chāndogyē] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, cchaāndogyē D, chāndopyevaṁ K<sub>1</sub> • somya] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, saumya DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • brahma] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, brahmeti P<sub>cd</sub> 4 tatra DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, atra P<sub>cd</sub> • paroktaṁ] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, paroktaṁ <sāṅkhyoktaṁ> J<sub>1</sub> 5 bhavati] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhavatīti D 7 sacchabda] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, paroktaṁ • aikṣateti īkṣaṇaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, aikṣateti īkṣaṇaṁ J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 8 cācetane] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vī cetame V<sub>1</sub> • anyatra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, atra P<sub>gha</sub> • cekṣā] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ceṣṭā J<sub>1</sub> • aikṣata] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, īkṣata J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 9 lokān u] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, lokān u? D, lokān u J<sub>2</sub>, lokān na V<sub>1</sub> • iti sa imān lokān asrjata] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. DK<sub>1</sub> • īkṣaṇaṁ cātra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, īkṣaṇapratītiḥ P<sub>gha</sub> 10 tadānīm ekam] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tadānī<m eku>m D 11 ukteḥ] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ukteḥ J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, ukte DV<sub>1</sub> • tatrāha] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tātrāha V<sub>1</sub> 12 tathā] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub> • tasya] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, yasya D 13 ceti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, cety ādi P<sub>cd</sub> • api] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, api tasya P<sub>cd</sub> • <niśvasitasyāpy agre darśaiṣyamāṇatvāt> K<sub>1</sub> • niśvasitasya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, niśvasitasya P<sub>cd</sub> 14 tac ca ... cānyasyeti (next page, line 2) om. K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 1 eko ... āsīt, Mahopaniṣad 1.1 2 īkṣater nāśabdam, Brahmasūtra 1.1.5 3 sad ... brahma, Chāndogya 6.2.1 • tad aikṣata ... tejosrjata, Chāndogya 6.2.3 5 yasmin ... pratipādyam kutaḥ, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.5, vol. 2, p. 5–6 6 īkṣateḥ ... sambhavet, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.5, vol. 2, p. 6 8 īkṣāpūrvikaiva ... asrjata, Śrībhāṣya 1.1.5, vol. 2, p. 6–7 • sa ... asrjata, Aitareya 1.1.1–2 12 na ... kriyā ca, Śvetāśvatara 6.8

- <sup>1,2</sup>katham tasya jagajjanmādikartṛtvaṁ katham vā  
nānyatantroktasya pradhānasya na  
cānyasyeti tatrāha | śāstrasya vedalakṣaṇasya yoniḥ kāraṇaṁ  
tadrūpatvāt | evaṁ vā aresya  
mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yadṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ  
sāmavedotharvāṅgirasa itihāsaḥ  
4 purāṇaṁ vidyā upaṇiśadaḥ ślokaḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni  
vyākhyānānīti śruteḥ | śāstraṁ  
hi sarvapramāṇāgocaravividhānantajñānamayaṁ tasya ca  
kāraṇaṁ brahmaiva śrūyata iti |  
tad eva mukhyaṁ sarvajñaṁ tādrśaṁ sarvajñatvaṁ vinā ca  
sarvaśrṣṭyādikam anyasya  
nopapadyata iti proktalakṣaṇaṁ brahmaiva jagatkāraṇaṁ na  
pradhānaṁ na ca jīvāntaram  
8 iti | tad eva vivṛtyāha tene brahma hṛdā ya ādikavaya iti | brahma  
vedam ādikavaye  
brahmaṇe brahmāṇaṁ prati hṛdā antaḥkāraṇadvāraiva na tu  
vāgdvārā tene āvirbhāvitavān  
| atra bṛhadvācakena brahmapadena sarvajñānamayatvaṁ tasya  
jñāpitam | hṛdety  
anenāntaryāmitvaṁ sarvaśaktimayatvaṁ ca jñāpitam | ādikavaya  
ity anena tasyāpi  
12 śikṣānidānatvāt śāstrayonitvaṁ ceti | śrutiś cātra  
yo brahmāṇaṁ vidadhāti pūrvaṁ  
yo vai vedāṁś ca prahiṇoti tasmai |  
taṁ ha devam ātmabuddhiprakāśaṁ

<sup>1</sup> 2 ca] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vā J<sub>1</sub> • anyasya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, anyasya <jīvasya> V<sub>1</sub> • vā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. V<sub>1</sub> • aresya] K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, are asya DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub> 4 itihāsaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, itihāsa V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> • purāṇaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, purāṇaḥ K<sub>1</sub> • vidyā upaṇiśadaḥ ślokaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub>, vidyā upaṇiśada ślokaḥ V<sub>1</sub> • anuvyākhyānāni] J<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, upasūtrāṇi DK<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, upasūtrāṇi J<sub>2</sub> • vyākhyānāni] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, khilāny upakhilāni ca K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>na</sub>P<sub>ja</sub>, khilāny upakhilāni ca vyākhyānāni D 6 eva] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, evaṁ P<sub>cd</sub> • anyasya] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, asya J<sub>1</sub> • nopapadyata] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nopa<pa>dyata D • ca] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. V<sub>1</sub> 8 tad] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, etad K<sub>1</sub> 9 hṛdā antaḥkāraṇa] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, hṛdāntaḥkāraṇa J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 10 sarva] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, brahma J<sub>1</sub> 11 sarvaśaktimayatvaṁ ca] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sarvaśaktitvaṁ ca bhagavato K<sub>1</sub> 12 nidānatvāt śāstra] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, nidānatvāc chāstra J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 15 buddhi] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <buddhi> K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 2 evaṁ . . . vyākhyānāni, Bṛhadāraṇyaka 2.4.10 13 yo . . . prapadye (next page), Śvetāśvatara 6.18



- <sup>1,2</sup>mumukṣur vai śaraṇam ahaṁ prapadye || iti |  
 muktañivā api tatkāraṇaṁ nety āha muhyantīti | yatra brahmaṇi  
 vedākhye sūrayaḥ  
 śeṣādayopi anena ca śayanalīlavyaṇjitanisvasitamayavedo  
 brahmādividhānacaṇaś ca yaḥ  
 4 padmanābhas tadādimūrtikaḥ śrībhagavān evābhīhitaḥ | vivṛtaṁ  
 caitat pracoditā yena  
 purā sarasvatīty ādinā | atha tat tu samanvayād ity  
 asyārthāntaram yathā śāstrayonitve  
 hetuś ca dṛśyata ity āha tat tv iti | samanvayotra samyak  
 sarvatomukhonvayo vyutpattir  
 vedārthaparijñānaṁ tasmāt tat tu śāstranidānatvaṁ niścīyata iti  
 jīve samyag jñānaṁ eva  
 8 nāsti pradhānaṁ tv acetanaṁ eveti bhāvaḥ | sa veti viśvaṁ na hi  
 tasya vettīti śruteḥ | tad  
 etad asya tadīyasamyagjñānaṁ vyatīrekamukhena bodhayitum  
 jīvānāṁ sarveṣāṁ api  
 tadīyasamyagjñānābhāvam āha muhyantīti | sūrayaḥ śeṣādayopi  
 yat yatra śabdabrahmaṇi  
 muhyanti | tad etad vivṛtaṁ svayaṁ bhagavatā  
 12 kim vidhatte kim ācaṣṭe kim anūdya vikalpayet |  
 ity asyā hṛdayaṁ loke nānyo mad veda kaścana || iti |  
 anena ca sākṣādbhagavān evābhīhitaḥ | atheṣṭater nāśabdā ity  
 asyārthāntaram abhijñā  
 ity atraiva vyaṇjitaṁ asti | tatra sūtrārthaḥ nanv aśabdā  
 asparśam arūpam avyayam ity ādi

<sup>1</sup> 2 tatkāraṇaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tat <tasyāḥ śikṣāyāḥ> kāraṇaṁ J<sub>2</sub> • muhyantīti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
 muhyanti V<sub>1</sub> • yatra brahmaṇi vedākhye] V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, *om.* DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, yatra brahmaṇi vedākhye J<sub>2</sub> 3  
 vidhānacaṇaś], vidhānacaṇaś (*post. corr.*) D, vidhānacaṇaś J<sub>1</sub>, vidhānacaṇaś <?aturah> J<sub>2</sub>,  
 vidhānacaṇaś K<sub>1</sub>, vidhānacaṇaś V<sub>1</sub>, vidhānakhayātaś P<sub>ed</sub>, vividhānanalocaṇaś P<sub>ha</sub>,  
 vidhānacaṇaś P<sub>ed</sub> 4 evābhīhitaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, evā<bhi>hitaḥ K<sub>1</sub>, evābhīhitaṁ V<sub>1</sub> 6 atra]  
 DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, atra <atra bhagavati> J<sub>2</sub>, atra <bhagavati> V<sub>1</sub> 7 tasmāt] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, <ta>smāt  
 K<sub>1</sub>, yasmāt P<sub>ed</sub> • śāstra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, śāstrayoni P<sub>ed</sub> • samyag] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, samyak DV<sub>1</sub> • jñānaṁ  
 eva] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, jñānaṁ J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 8 vettīti] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, vettetyādi D 9 etad asya] DP<sub>ed</sub>, etasya  
 J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ha</sub>, etasya <asya bhagavataḥ> J<sub>2</sub>, etadasya <bhagavataḥ> K<sub>1</sub>, etad asya <bhagavataḥ>  
 (*in a very different hand from the usual marginalia*) V<sub>1</sub> • tadīyasamyagjñānaṁ] J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,  
 tadīyasamyak jñānaṁ D, tadīyasamyagjñānaṁ K<sub>1</sub>, tadīya<vedīya>samyagjñānaṁ (*“vedīya” in a very  
 <vedasambandhi>tadīyasamyagjñānaṁ K<sub>1</sub>, tadīya<vedīya>samyagjñānaṁ*) (*“vedīya” in a very  
 different hand from the usual marginalia*) V<sub>1</sub> 10 samyag] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, samyak DJ<sub>2</sub> • sūrayaḥ]  
 DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, sūrayaḥ K<sub>1</sub> • yat] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, yad P<sub>ed</sub> 11 muhyanti tad etad] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tad etad  
 D, mu<hyanti tadeta>d K<sub>1</sub> 13 ity asyā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ityatyā K<sub>1</sub>, ity asya V<sub>1</sub> 14 anena]  
 DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ane V<sub>1</sub> • ca] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, *om.* K<sub>1</sub> • evābhīhitaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, eva abhīhitaḥ J<sub>2</sub>,  
 evā<bhi>hitaḥ K<sub>1</sub> 15 tatra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, atra P<sub>ed</sub> • nanv] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, nanu J<sub>1</sub>  
<sup>2</sup> 4 pracoditā . . . sarasvatī, Bhāgavata 2.4.22 8 sa veti . . . veti, Śvetāśvatara 3.19 12 kim  
 vidhatte . . . kaścana, Bhāgavata 11.21.42 15 aśabdā . . . avyayam, Kaṭha 3.15

- <sup>1,2</sup>śruteḥ | katham tasya śabdayonitvaṁ tatrāha prakṛtaṁ brahma  
śabdahīnaṁ na bhavati |  
kuta īkṣateḥ tad aikṣata bahu syām prajāyeyety atra bahu syām  
iti śabdātmakekṣadhātoḥ  
śravaṇāt | tad etad āha abhijñāḥ bahu syām ity  
ādiśabdātmakavicāraavidagdhāḥ | sa ca
- 4 śabdādiśaktisamudāyas tasya na prakṛtaḥ prakṛtikṣobhāt  
pūrvatrāpi sadbhāvāt | tataḥ  
svarūpabhūta evety āha svarād iti | atra pūrvavat tādṛśaṁ  
sadharmatvaṁ mūrtimattvaṁ api  
siddham | yathāhuḥ sūtrakārāḥ antas taddharmopadeśād iti |  
atośabdatvādikam  
prakṛtaśabdahīnatvādikam eveti jñeyam |  
atrottaramīmāṁsādhyāyacatuṣṭayasyāpy artho
- 8 darśitaḥ | tatrānvayād itarataś ceti samanvayādhyāyasya muhyanti  
yat sūraya ity  
avirodhādhyāyasya dhīmahīti sādhanādhyāyasya satyaṁ param iti  
phalādhyāyasyeti | tathā  
gāyatriarthopī spaṣṭaḥ | tatra janmādyasya yata iti praṇavārthaḥ  
srṣṭyādiśaktimattvavācītvāt | tad evam evāgnipurāṇe  
gāyatrīvyākhyāne proktam tajjyotir
- 12 bhagavān viṣṇur jagajjanmādikāraṇam iti | yatra trisargomṛṣeti  
vyāhṛtitrayārthaḥ |  
ubhayatrāpi lokatrayasya tadananyatvena vivakṣitatvāt | svarād iti  
savitṛprakāśakaparamatejovāci | tene brahma hr̥deti  
buddhivṛttipreraṇāprārthanā sūcitā |  
tad eva kṛpayā svadhyānāyāsmākam buddhivṛttīḥ prerayatād iti  
bhāvaḥ | evam evoktaṁ

<sup>1</sup> 1 śruteḥ] J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śrute J<sub>1</sub> • prakṛtaṁ] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, prakṛtaṁ <prakaraṇalabdham> DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> •  
śabdahīnaṁ] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śarīrahīnaṁ J<sub>1</sub> 2 kuta] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, kutaḥ DK<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 3 śabda] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
sabda V<sub>1</sub> 5 tataḥ] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, tat DP<sub>cd</sub> • atra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, atra ca V<sub>1</sub> • tādṛśaṁ sadharmatvaṁ  
mūrtimattvaṁ] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tādṛśamūrtitvādikam J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, tādṛśaṁ sadharmakatvaṁ mūrtimattvaṁ  
P<sub>pha</sub> 6 yathāhuḥ ... upadeśād iti] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, yathāhuḥ ... upadeśād  
<sūryamaṇḍalamadhye sthitadharmopadeśāt> iti V<sub>1</sub> 7 atrottaramīmāṁsādhyāyā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
atro<taramīmāṁsā>dhyāyā K<sub>1</sub>, <śloke> atrotta<ra>mīmāṁsādhyāyā V<sub>1</sub> • api] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
om. K<sub>1</sub> 8 tatrānvayād] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tatra anvayād K<sub>1</sub> • ca] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> 9  
phalādhyāyasyeti] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, phalādhyāyasyāti D • tathā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, yathā V<sub>1</sub> 11  
śaktimattva] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śaktimattattva J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, śaktimatta<??> J<sub>2</sub> • tad evam ... kāraṇam iti (line  
12)] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • proktam] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, coktaṁ D 13 ubhayatra] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
ubhayatra <arthadivaye praṇavārthe vyāhṛtitrayārthe ca> D 14 prakāśaka] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
prakāśa J<sub>1</sub> 15 tad eva] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tad evaṁ K<sub>1</sub> • svadhyāna] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, svadhyāna V<sub>1</sub> •  
asmākam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> • vṛttīḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vṛtti V<sub>1</sub> • iti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, iti hi K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 2 tad ... prajāyeya, Chāndogya 6.2.3 6 antas taddharmopadeśāt, Brahmasūtra 1.1.20  
11 taj jyotir ... kāraṇam, Agni 216.7

- <sup>1,2,3</sup>gāyatrīyā ca samārambha iti | tac ca tejas tatra antas  
taddharmopadeśād ity ādi  
sampratipannaṁ yaṁmūrtaṁ tadādyanantamūrtimeva  
dhyeyam iti | tathā  
cāgnipurāṇasya kramasthavadanāni
- 4 evaṁ sandhyāvidhiṁ kṛtvā gāyatrīm ca jayet smaret |  
gāyaty ukthāni śāstrāṇi bhargaṁ prāṇāṁs tathaiva ca ||  
tataḥ smṛteyaṁ gāyatrī sāvitṛī yata eva ca |  
prakāśinī sā savitur vāgrūpatvāt sarasvatī ||
- 8 tajjyotiḥ paramaṁ brahma bhargas tejo yataḥ smṛtaḥ |  
bhargaḥ syāt bhrājata iti bahulaṁ chandasīritam ||  
vareṇyaṁ sarvatejobhyaḥ śreṣṭhaṁ vai paramaṁ padam |  
svargāpavargakāmair vā varaṇīyaṁ sadaiva hi ||
- 12 vṛṇoter varaṇārthatvāj jāgratsvapnādivarjitam |  
nityaṁ śuddhaṁ buddham ekaṁ nityaṁ bhargaṁ  
adhīśvaram ||  
ahaṁ brahma paraṁ jyotir dhyāyema hi vimuktaye |  
tajjyotir bhagavān viṣṇur jagajjanmādikāraṇam ||

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>1</sub> and K<sub>1</sub> skip from *dhyeyam iti* (line 2) to *tathā daśalakṣaṇārthaḥ* (two pages below), omitting the entire quote from the Agni Purāṇa and the brief note on ahaṁgrahopāsanā. There are no markers or marginalia indicating that text is missing

<sup>2</sup> 1 dharmopadeśād ity] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, dharmāmnāyād ity J<sub>1</sub>, dharmād ity K<sub>1</sub>, dharmopadeśādi V<sub>1</sub> • ādi] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>, atra K<sub>1</sub>, om. V<sub>1</sub>, ādinā P<sub>ed</sub> 2 dhyeyam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, jñeyam K<sub>1</sub> • tathā] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tatra P<sub>ha</sub> 3 cāgnipurāṇasya kramasthavadanāni] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, ca agnipurāṇasya kramasthavadanāni V<sub>1</sub>, cāgnipurāṇakramasthavadanāni P<sub>ha</sub> 5 bhargaṁ prāṇāṁs] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, bhargaprāṇās J<sub>2</sub> 7 J<sub>2</sub> skips from prakāśa° to syāt (line 9). There is a carat mark indicating that some text is to be inserted, but the top margin of the manuscript page is torn. 8 tajjyotiḥ] DP<sub>ed</sub>, jaga<ta>jjyotiḥ V<sub>1</sub> • bhargas] V<sub>1</sub>, bhargadhas D 11 svarga] D (post. corr.) J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, sarga V<sub>1</sub> 12 vṛṇoter] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, vṛṇuter D, vṛnote V<sub>1</sub> 14 jyotir] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, jyoti D

<sup>3</sup> 1 gāyatrīyā ca samārambhaḥ, quoted in Bhāvārthadīpikā 1.1.1, p. 13 (Śrīdhara Svāmī simply says "purāṇāntare ca.") • antas taddharmopadeśāt, Brahmasūtra 1.1.20 4 evaṁ . . . yaḥ sadā (two pages below, line 1), Agni 216.1–18

- <sup>1,2</sup>śruteḥ | katham tasya śabdāyonitvaṁ tatrāha prakṛtaṁ brahma  
śabdahīnaṁ na bhavati |  
kuta īkṣateḥ tad aikṣata bahu syāṁ prajāyeyety atra bahu syāṁ  
iti śabdātmakekṣadhātoḥ  
śravaṇāt | tad etad āha abhijñāḥ bahu syāṁ ity  
ādiśabdātmakavicāraavidagdhāḥ | sa ca
- 4 śabdādiśaktisamudāyas tasya na prakṛtaḥ prakṛtikṣobhāt  
pūrvatrāpi sadbhāvāt | tataḥ  
svarūpabhūta evety āha svarād iti | atra pūrvavat tādṛśaṁ  
sadharmatvaṁ mūrtimattvaṁ api  
siddham | yathāhuḥ sūtrakārāḥ antas taddharmopadeśād iti |  
atośabdatvādikam  
prakṛtaśabdahīnatvādikam eveti jñeyam |  
atrottaramīmāṁsādhyāyacatuṣṭayasyāpy artho
- 8 darśitaḥ | tatrānvayād itarataś ceti samanvayādhyāyasya muhyanti  
yat sūraya ity  
avirodhādhyāyasya dhīmahīti sādhanādhyāyasya satyaṁ param iti  
phalādhyāyasyeti | tathā  
gāyatriarthopi spaṣṭaḥ | tatra janmādyasya yata iti praṇavārthaḥ  
srṣṭyādiśaktimattvavācivāt | tad evam evāgnipurāṇe  
gāyatrīvyākhyāne proktam tajjyotir
- 12 bhagavān viṣṇur jagajjanmādikāraṇam iti | yatra trisargomṛṣeti  
vyāhṛtitrayārthaḥ |  
ubhayatrāpi lokatrayasya tadananyatvena vivakṣitatvāt | svarād iti  
savitrprakāśakaparamatejovāci | tene brahma hṛdeti  
buddhivṛttipreraṇāprārthanā sūcitā |  
tad eva kṛpayā svadhyānāyāsmākam buddhivṛttih prerayatād iti  
bhāvaḥ | evam evoktaṁ

<sup>1</sup> 1 śruteḥ] J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śrute J<sub>1</sub> • prakṛtaṁ] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, prakṛtaṁ <prakaraṇalabdham> DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> •  
śabdahīnaṁ] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śarīrahīnaṁ J<sub>1</sub> 2 kuta] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, kutaḥ DK<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 3 śabda] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
sabda V<sub>1</sub> 5 tataḥ] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, tat DP<sub>cd</sub> • atra] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, atra ca V<sub>1</sub> • tādṛśaṁ sadharmatvaṁ  
mūrtimattvaṁ] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tādṛśamūrtitvādikam J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, tādṛśaṁ sadharmakataṁ mūrtimattvaṁ  
P<sub>ḥa</sub> 6 yathāhuḥ ... upadeśād iti] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, yathāhuḥ ... upadeśād  
<sūryamaṇḍalamadhye sthitadharmopadeśāt> iti V<sub>1</sub> 7 atrottaramīmāṁsādhyāya] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
atro<taramīmāṁsā>dhyāya K<sub>1</sub>, <śloke> atrotta<ra>mīmāṁsādhyāya V<sub>1</sub> • api] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
om. K<sub>1</sub> 8 tatrānvayād] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tatra anvayād K<sub>1</sub> • ca] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> 9  
phalādhyāyasyeti] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, phalādhyāyasyāti D • tathā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, yathā V<sub>1</sub> 11  
śaktimattva] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śaktimattattva J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, śaktimatta<??> J<sub>2</sub> • tad evam ... kāraṇam iti (line  
12)] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • proktam] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, coktaṁ D 13 ubhayatra] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
ubhayatra <arthadvaya praṇavārthe vyāhṛtitrayārthe ca> D 14 prakāśaka] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
prakāśa J<sub>1</sub> 15 tad eva] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tad evam K<sub>1</sub> • svadhyāna] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, svādhyāna V<sub>1</sub> •  
asmākam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> • vṛttih] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vṛtti V<sub>1</sub> • itih] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, iti hi K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 2 tad ... prajāyeya, Chāndogya 6.2.3 6 antas taddharmopadeśāt, Brahmasūtra 1.1.20  
11 taj jyotir ... kāraṇam, Agni 216.7



- <sup>1,2,3</sup>gāyatrīyā ca samārambha iti | tac ca tejas tatra antas  
taddharmopadeśād ity ādi  
sampratipannam yanmūrtam tadādyanantamūrtimad eva  
dhyeyam iti | tathā  
cāgnipurāṇasya kramasthavacanāni
- 4 evam sandhyāvidhiṃ kṛtvā gāyatrīm ca japet smaret |  
gāyaty ukthāni śāstrāṇi bhargaṃ prāṇāṃs tathaiva ca ||  
tataḥ smṛteyaṃ gāyatrī sāvitṛī yata eva ca |  
prakāśinī sā savitur vāgrūpatvāt sarasvatī ||
- 8 tajjyotiḥ paramaṃ brahma bhargas tejo yataḥ smṛtaḥ |  
bhargaḥ syāt bhrājata iti bahulaṃ chandasīritam ||  
vareṇyaṃ sarvatejobhyaḥ śreṣṭhaṃ vai paramaṃ padam |  
svargāpavargakāmair vā varaṇīyaṃ sadaiva hi ||
- 12 vṛṇoter varaṇārthatvāj jāgratsvapnādivarjitam |  
nityaṃ śuddhaṃ buddham ekaṃ nityaṃ bhargaṃ  
adhīśvaram ||  
aham brahma param jyotir dhyāyema hi vimuktaye |  
tajjyotir bhagavān viṣṇur jagajjanmādikāraṇam ||

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>1</sub> and K<sub>1</sub> skip from *dhyeyam iti* (line 2) to *tathā daśalakṣaṇārthaḥ* (two pages below), omitting the entire quote from the Agni Purāṇa and the brief note on ahaṃgrahopāsanā. There are no markers or marginalia indicating that text is missing

<sup>2</sup> 1 dharmopadeśād ity] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dharmāmnāyād ity J<sub>1</sub>, dharmād ity K<sub>1</sub>, dharmopadeśādi V<sub>1</sub> • ādi] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>, atra K<sub>1</sub>, om. V<sub>1</sub>, ādinā P<sub>cd</sub> 2 dhyeyam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, jñeyam K<sub>1</sub> • tathā] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tatra P<sub>jha</sub> 3 cāgnipurāṇasya kramasthavacanāni] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ca agnipurāṇasya kramasthavacanāni V<sub>1</sub>, cāgnipurāṇakramavacanāni P<sub>jha</sub> 5 bhargaṃ prāṇāṃs] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhargaprānās J<sub>2</sub> 7 J<sub>2</sub> skips from prakāśa° to syāt (line 9). There is a carat mark indicating that some text is to be inserted, but the top margin of the manuscript page is torn. 8 tajjyotiḥ] DP<sub>cd</sub>, jaga<ta>jjyotiḥ V<sub>1</sub> • bhargas] V<sub>1</sub>, bhargadhas D 11 svarga] D (post. corr.) J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sarga V<sub>1</sub> 12 vṛṇoter] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vṛṇuter D, vṛnote V<sub>1</sub> 14 jyotir] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, jyoti D

<sup>3</sup> 1 gāyatrīyā ca samārambhaḥ, quoted in Bhāvarthadīpikā 1.1.1, p. 13 (Śrīdhara Svāmī simply says “purāṇāntare ca.”) • antas taddharmopadeśāt, Brahmasūtra 1.1.20 4 evam . . . yaḥ sadā (two pages below, line 1), Agni 216.1–18

- <sup>1,2</sup>śivaṁ kecit paṭhanti sma śaktirūpaṁ paṭhanti ca |  
 kecit sūryaṁ kecid agniṁ daivatāny agnihotriṇaḥ ||  
 agnyādirūpī viṣṇor hi vedādaḥ brahma gīyate |  
 4 tat padaṁ paramaṁ viṣṇor devasya savituh smṛtam ||  
 dadhāter vā dhīmahi manasā dhārayemahi |  
 nosmākaṁ yac ca bhargas tat sarveṣāṁ prāṇināṁ dhiyaḥ ||  
 8 codayāt prerayād buddhiṁ bhoktṛṇāṁ sarvakarmasu |  
 dṛṣṭādrṣṭavipākeṣu viṣṇuḥ sūryāgnirūpabhāk ||  
 īśvaraprerito gacchet svargaṁ vā śvabhram eva vā |  
 īśāvāsyam idaṁ sarvaṁ mahadādijagad dhariḥ ||  
 12 svargādyaiḥ krīḍate devo yo haṁsaḥ puruṣaḥ prabhuḥ |  
 dhyānena puruṣo yaṁ ca draṣṭavyaḥ sūryamaṇḍale ||  
 satyaṁ sadāśivaṁ brahma viṣṇor yat paramaṁ padam |  
 devasya savitur devo vareṇyaṁ hi turīyakam ||  
 yosāv ādityapuruṣaḥ sosāv aham anuttamam |

<sup>1</sup> 5 dadhāter] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dadhāte V<sub>1</sub> 9 īśvara] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, īśvaraḥ DV<sub>1</sub> • śvabhram] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, svabhram  
 DV<sub>1</sub> 14 devo] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhargo P<sub>gha</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 1 śivaṁ . . . (quotation continued from Agni 216.1–18)

<sup>1,2</sup>janānām śubhakarmādīn pravartayati yaḥ sadā || ity etāni |  
yatrādhikṛtya gāyatrīm varṇyate dharmavistarāḥ |  
vṛtrāsurasavadhotsiktaṁ tad bhāgavatam ucyate || ity ādīni  
ca |

- 4 tasmād bhargabrahmaparaviṣṇubhagavacchabdābhinnavarṇatayā  
tatra tatra nirdiṣṭā api  
bhagavatpratipādakā eva jñeyāḥ | madhye madhye tv  
aharṁgrahopāsanānirdeśas tatsāmya  
iva labdhe hi tadupāsānāyogyatā bhavatīti | tathā  
daśalakṣaṇārthopy atraiva dṛśyaḥ | tatra  
sargavisargasthānanirodhā jandmādy asya yata ity atra |  
manvantareśānukathe ca
- 8 sthānāntargate poṣaṇam tena ity ādau | ūtir muhyantīty ādau |  
muktir jīvānām api  
tatsānnidhye sati kuhakanirasanavyaṅjake dhāmnyety ādau |  
āśrayaḥ satyaṁ param ity atra<sup>3</sup>  
| sa ca svayāmbhagavattvena nirṇītatvāt śrīkrṣṇa eveti  
pūrvoktaprakāra eva vyakta iti | tad  
evam asminn upakramavākye sarveṣu padavākyatātparyeṣu tasya  
dhyeyasya saviśeṣatvaṁ
- 12 mūrtimatvaṁ bhagavadākāratvaṁ ca vyaktam | tac ca yuktam |  
svarūpavākyāntaravyaktatvāt |  
yosyotprekṣaka ādimadhyanidhane yovyaktajīveśvaro  
yaḥ sṛṣṭivedam anupraviśya ṛṣiṇā cakre puraḥ śāsti tāḥ |

<sup>1</sup> 1 etāni] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, ādi P<sub>cd</sub> 2 gāyatrīm] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, gāyatrī V<sub>1</sub> • varṇyate] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, kīrtiyate DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>P<sub>ja</sub> 7  
sargavisarga] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, trisargavisarga J<sub>1</sub> • ca] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. D 8 sthānāntargate]  
DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sthānāntargate <pālanāntargate> J<sub>2</sub>, sthānāntargate <pālanasyāntarbhūte> V<sub>1</sub> •  
ūtir muhyantīty ādau] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ūtir muhyantīty ādau D, ūtir muhyantīty ādau J<sub>1</sub>, <ūtir  
muhyantīty ādau> K<sub>1</sub> • jīvānām api . . . vyaṅjake] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 9 atra] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, ādau  
J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> 10 nirṇītatvāt] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. V<sub>1</sub> 11 evam asminn] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, eva yasminn K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub> •  
vākye] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vākyeṣu V<sub>1</sub> • tātparyeṣu] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tātparye V<sub>1</sub> 12 mūrtimatvaṁ]  
J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, mūrtitvaṁ D, om. V<sub>1</sub> • bhagavad] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śrībhagavad DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> • ākāratvaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
ākāraṁ J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 13 svarūpa] DJ<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, sarūpa J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 1 yaḥ sadā, (end of quotation from Agni 216.1–18) 2 yatrādhikṛtya . . . ucyate, Agni 272.6  
and quoted in Bhāvārthadīpikā 1.1.1 (Śrīdhara Svāmī credits the verse to to the  
Purāṇadānaprastāva of the Matsya Purāṇa) 7 sargavisargasthānanirodhāḥ, manvantareśānu-  
kathe, poṣaṇam, Bhāgavata 2.10.1 8 poṣaṇam, ūtiḥ, muktiḥ, Bhāgavata 2.10.1 9 āśrayaḥ,  
Bhāgavata 2.10.1 14 yosyotprekṣaka . . . harim (next page, line 2), Bhāgavata 10.87.50

<sup>3</sup> See Tattva-sandarbhā 55–56. BhP 2.10.1–7

- <sup>1,2</sup>yaṁ sampadya jahāty ajāṁ anuśayī suptaḥ kulāyaṁ  
yathā  
taṁ kaivalyanirastayonim abhayaṁ dhyāyed ajasra  
harim || iti |  
ato dharmāḥ projjhity ādāv anantaravākyepi kiṁ vā parair ity  
ādinā tatraiva tātparyam
- 4 darsitam | tathopasaṁhāravākyādhīnārthatvād  
upakramavākyasya nātikramaṇīyam eva |  
kasmai yena vibhāsitoyam ity ādidarśitam tasya  
tādṛśaviśeṣavattvādikam |  
yathaivātmagrhitir itaravad uttarād ity atra  
śaṅkaraśārīrakasyāparasyāṁ yojanāyām  
upakramoktasya sacchabdavācyaśyātmatvam upasaṁhārasthād  
ātmaśabdāl labhyate
- 8 tadvad ihāpi catuṣṣlokivaktur bhagavattvaṁ darśitam ca  
śrīvyāsasamādhāv api tasyaiva  
dhyeyatvam | tad etad eva ca svasukhanibhṛtetyādi  
śrīśukahrdayānugatam iti || 1 || 1 ||  
śrīvyāsaḥ || athopasaṁhāravākyasyāpy ayam arthaḥ | kasmai  
garbhodakaśāyīpuruṣanābhikamalasthāya brahmaṇe tatraiva yena  
mahāvaikuṇṭhaṁ
- 12 darśayatā dvitīyaskandhavarṇitatādṛśaśrīmūrtyādinā bhagavatā  
vibhāsitaḥ prakāśitaḥ na tu  
tadāpi racitaḥ | ayam śrībhāgavatarūpaḥ purā pūrvaparārdhādu  
tadrūpeṇa brahmarūpeṇa  
tadrūpiṇā śrīnāradarūpiṇā yogīndrāya śrīśukāya tadātmanā  
śrīkrṣṇadvaipāyanarūpeṇa |  
tadātmanety asyottareṇānvayaḥ | tatra tadātmanā śrīśukarūpeṇeti  
jñeyam |

<sup>1</sup> 1 sampadya jahāty] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, samyag vyajahāty V<sub>1</sub> 3 projjhity ādāv] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, projjhitakaitvaotra paraṁ ity ādau J<sub>1</sub> • anantara] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, antara J<sub>2</sub> 4 darśitam] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub> • tathā] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, yathā D 5 vibhāsitoyam] J<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vibhāsitoyam atula J<sub>1</sub>, vibhāsitoyam DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 7 upakramam] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, upakrānta DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>na</sub>P<sub>ja</sub> • ātmatvam upasaṁhārasthād ātmaśabdāl] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ātmatva <m upasaṁhārasthātma>śabdāl D, ātmatvam upasaṁhārasthād ātmaśabdāl K<sub>1</sub> • labhyate] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, lakṣyate P<sub>gha</sub> 8 vaktur] DJ<sub>2</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vaktṛ J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • śrīvyāsa] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <śrī>vyāsa V<sub>1</sub> 9 etad] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. J<sub>2</sub> • ādi] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, ādi dārśita K<sub>1</sub> • śuka] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, śukadeva DP<sub>cd</sub> • anugatam iti | 1 | 1 | ] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, anugatam iti 1 1 J<sub>1</sub>, anugatam iti P<sub>cd</sub> 10 api] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om. V<sub>1</sub> 11 garbhodaka] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, garbhoda J<sub>1</sub> 12 varṇita] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vārṇita D • vibhāsitaḥ] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vibhā?itaḥ D • na tu tadāpi racitaḥ] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, <na tu tadā racitaḥ> K<sub>1</sub> 15 uttareṇānvayaḥ] J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, uttareṇāpy anvayaḥ DK<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, uttareṇā <pya>nvayaḥ J<sub>1</sub> • śrīśukarūpeṇeti] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, śrīśukarūpeṇeti <nena bhagavatā> J<sub>2</sub>, śrīśukarūpeṇa śrīkrṣṇarūpeṇeti P<sub>ga</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 2 ajasraṁ harim (end of quotation from Bhāgavata 10.87.50) 3 dharmāḥ projjhita, kiṁ vā paraiḥ, Bhāgavata 1.1.2 5 kasmai . . . ayam, Bhāgavata 12.13.19 6 ātmagrhitir itaravad uttarāt, Brahmasūtra 3.3.16 9 svasukhanibhṛta, Bhāgavata 12.12.69



- <sup>1,2,3</sup>tadrūpeṇety ādibhis tribhiḥ padair na kevalam catuḥśloky eva  
tena prakāśitā kiṃ tarhi  
tatra tatrāviṣṭenākhaṇḍam eva purāṇam iti dyotitam | atra  
madrūpeṇa ca yuṣmabhyam iti  
saṅkocēnānuktopi śrīsūtavākyaśeṣo gamyaḥ | evam sarvasyāpi  
śrībhāgavataguror mahimā
- 4 darśitaḥ | saṅkarṣaṇasampradāyapravṛttis tu  
śrīkṛṣṇadvaipāyanakartṛkaprakāśanāntargataiveti pṛthag nocyate |  
tat param satyam  
śrībhagavadākhyam tattvaṃ dhīmahi | yat tat param anuttamam  
iti sahasranāmastotrāt  
paraśabdena ca śrībhagavān evocyate | ādyovatāraḥ puruṣaḥ  
parasyeti dvitīyāt |
- 8 brahmādinām buddhivṛttiprerakatvenābhidhānād  
gāyatrīarthopalakṣitena dhīmahi  
gāyatrīpadenaiva yathopakramam upasamharan gāyatrī apy  
arthoyam grantha iti  
darśayati | tad uktaṃ gāyatrībhāṣyarūposau bhāratārthavinirṇaya  
iti || 12 || 13 || śrīsūtaḥ ||
- 12 athābhyāsenā  
kalimalasamhatikālanokhileśo  
harir itaratra na gīyate hy abhīkṣam |  
iha tu punar bhagavān aśeṣamūrthiḥ
- 16 paripaṭhitonupadam kathāprasaṅgaiḥ || 106 ||

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>2</sub> has one folio (65) missing. Folio 64 ends with *kiṃ tarhi* (line 1) and folio 66 begins with *tatra tatra pravṛttir* (page x, line y). This may otherwise be the result an eyeskip from from *tatra tatra* (line 2) to the same on page x, with folio numbering having been given later to account for the absent text.

Starting *brahmādinām* (line 8) to the end of the manuscript, K<sub>1</sub> is written in a different hand. The script is less rounded, the letters are shorter and more angular, daṇḍas are not used, and there are more lines on a page

<sup>2</sup> 1 catuḥ J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, catu D 2 iti dyotitam DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, eva dyotitam K<sub>1</sub>, iti dyo<ti>tam V<sub>1</sub> • yuṣmabhyam iti DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, yuṣmabhyam iti ca J<sub>1</sub> 3 vākya DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. J<sub>1</sub> 4 pravṛttis tu J<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, pravṛttiḥ—K<sub>1</sub> 5 śrīkṛṣṇa J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>,—kṛṣṇa K<sub>1</sub>, kṛṣṇa DV<sub>1</sub> • pṛthag J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, prathaṇ D, pṛthaṇ P<sub>ed</sub> 6 param DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, padam J<sub>1</sub>, pa?(r or d)am K<sub>1</sub> 7 ca J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, om. D 8 gāyatrīartho J<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, gāyatrī artho D, gāyatrīatho K<sub>1</sub> 10 iti || 12 || 13 || ] DV<sub>1</sub>, iti 12 13 J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, iti P<sub>ed</sub> 12 athābhyāsenā DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, athābhyāsenā<sup>2</sup> J<sub>1</sub>, ?thā2bhyāsenā K<sub>1</sub> 16 paripaṭhito J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, pariṭhito D • prasaṅgaiḥ || 106 || ] DV<sub>1</sub>, prasaṅgaiḥ 106 J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, prasaṅgaiḥ P<sub>ed</sub>

<sup>3</sup> 6 yat tat param anuttamam, Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra 78 7 ādyaḥ . . . parasya, Bhāgavata 2.6.42 10 gāyatrī . . . vinirṇayaḥ, Garuḍa (?), quoted in Madhva's Bhāgavatatātparyanirṇaya 1.1.1, p. 4 13 kali . . . prasaṅgaiḥ, Bhāgavata 12.12.66

- <sup>1,2</sup>kālano nāśanaḥ | itaratra karmabrahmādi pratipādakaśāstrāntare  
| akhileśo  
virāḍantaryāmī nārāyaṇopi tatpālako viṣṇur vāpi na gīyate kvacid  
gīyate vā tatra tv  
abhīkṣṇaṁ naiva gīyate tuśabdovadhāraṇe sākṣāc chrībhagavān  
punar iha śrībhāgavata  
4 evābhīkṣṇaṁ gīyate | nārāyaṇādayo vā yetra varṇitās tepy aśeṣā  
eva mūrtayovatārā yasya  
saḥ | tathābhūta eva gīyate na tv itaratreva tadavivekenety arthaḥ  
| ataeva tat tat  
kathāprasaṅgair apy anupadaṁ padaṁ padaṁ api lakṣīkṛtya  
bhagavān eva pari  
sarvatobhāvena paṭhito vyaktam evokta iti | anenāpūrvatāpi  
vyākhyātā  
8 anyatrānadhigatatvāt || 12 || 12 || śrīsūtaḥ ||

atha phalena

- 12 pibanti ye bhagavata ātmanaḥ satām  
kathāmṛtaṁ śravaṇapuṭeṣu sambhṛtaṁ |  
punanti te viṣayavidūṣitāśayaṁ  
vrajanti taccaraṇasaroruhāntikam || 107 ||  
satām ātmanaḥ prāṇeśvarasya yad vā vyadhikaraṇe ṣaṣṭhyaḥ  
satām svasya yo bhagavān  
16 tasyety arthaḥ | teṣāṁ bhagavati svāmitvena mamatāspadatvāt |  
atra kathāmṛtaṁ  
prakramyamāṇaṁ śrībhāgavatākhyam eva mukhyam yasyām vai

<sup>1</sup> 1 nāśanaḥ] J<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, nāśana DK<sub>1</sub> • virāḍ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, jīvādy P<sub>gha</sub> 2 kvacid gīyate vā] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
om. D 3 bhāgavata] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, bhāgavate P<sub>cd</sub> • gīyate] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, gīyata iti J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 4 varṇitās]  
DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, varṇitā V<sub>1</sub> 5 avivekenety] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, avivekena ity D 6 padaṁ] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, om.  
D • lakṣīkṛtya] DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, lakṣyīkṛtya J<sub>1</sub> 7 vyākhyātā] DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vyākhyātā 3 J<sub>1</sub> •  
anadhigatatvāt || 12 || 12 || ] V<sub>1</sub>, anadhigatatvāt || 12 || D, anadhigatatvāt 12 12 J<sub>1</sub>, anadhigatatvāt  
12 | 12 K<sub>1</sub>, anadhigatatvāt P<sub>cd</sub> 9 phalena], phalenāpi DP<sub>cd</sub>, phalena<sup>4</sup> J<sub>1</sub>, phalena\_ K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> 10  
bhagavata] DJ<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhagavatā K<sub>1</sub>, bhāgavata (unn.) V<sub>1</sub> 13 antikam || 107 || ] DV<sub>1</sub>, antikam  
107 J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, antikam P<sub>cd</sub> 14 ṣaṣṭhyaḥ] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, ṣaṣṭhī DP<sub>cd</sub> • svasya] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, ātmanaḥ svasya  
P<sub>cd</sub> • bhagavān tasya] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, bhagavāns tasya P<sub>cd</sub> 16 prakramyamāṇaṁ] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
prakāśyamāṇaṁ V<sub>1</sub>, prakathyamāṇaṁ P<sub>gha</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 11 pibanti ... antikam, Bhāgavata 2.2.37 16 yasyām vai śrūyamāṇāyām (next page),  
Bhāgavata 1.7.7

<sup>1,2</sup>śrūyamāṇāyām ity ādikam ca tathaivoktam iti || 2 || 2 ||  
śrīśukaḥ ||

athārthavādena

- 4 yaṁ brahmā varuṇendrarudramarutaḥ stuvanti divyaiḥ  
stavair  
vedaiḥ sāṅgapadakramopaniṣadair gāyanti yaṁ sāmagaḥ |  
dhyānāvasthitatadgatenā manasā paśyanti yaṁ yogino  
yasyāntaṁ na viduḥ surāsuragaṇā devāya tasmai namaḥ ||  
108 ||
- 8 stavair vedaiḥ ca stuvanti stuvanti | dhyānenāvasthitaṁ niścalaṁ  
tadgataṁ yaṁmanas tena || 12 || 13 || śrīsūtaḥ ||

athopapattyā

- 12 bhagavān sarvabhūteṣu lakṣitaḥ svātmanā hariḥ |  
dṛśyair buddhyādibhir draṣṭā lakṣaṇair anumāpakaiḥ || 109 ||  
prathamam draṣṭā jīvo lakṣitaḥ | kaiḥ dṛśyair buddhyādibhiḥ | tad  
eva dvedhā darśayati  
dṛśyānām jaḍānām buddhyādīnām darśanaṁ svaprakāśam  
draṣṭāraṁ vinā na ghaṭata ity
- 16 anupapattidvārā lakṣaṇaiḥ svaprakāśadraṣṭṛlakṣakaiḥ | tathā  
buddhyādīni kartṛprayojyāni  
karaṇatvāt vāsyādivad iti vyāptidvārānumāpakair iti | atha  
bhagavān api lakṣitaḥ | kena

<sup>1</sup> 1 uktam iti || 2 || 2 || ] V<sub>1</sub>, uktam iti || 1 || 2 || D. uktam ity arthaḥ 2 2 J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, uktam iti P<sub>cd</sub> 3  
arthavādena] DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, arthavādena<sup>5</sup> J<sub>1</sub> 4 marutaḥ] K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, maruta DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> • divyaiḥ] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
divyai J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 5 upaniṣadair] DJ<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, upaniṣadair K<sub>1</sub> 7 namaḥ || 108 || ] DV<sub>1</sub>, namaḥ 108  
J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, namaḥ P<sub>cd</sub> 8 tena || 12 || 13 || ] V<sub>1</sub>, tena || 2 || D. tena 12 13 J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, tena P<sub>cd</sub> 11 upapattyā]  
DK<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, upapattyā<sup>6</sup> J<sub>1</sub>, upapattyā <tarkaṇa> V<sub>1</sub> 12 bhagavān] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, bhagavāna D 13  
dṛśyair] DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dṛśyai J<sub>1</sub> • draṣṭā] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, draṣṭṛ V<sub>1</sub> • anumāpakaiḥ || 109 || ]  
DV<sub>1</sub>, anumāpakaiḥ 109 J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>, anumāpakaiḥ P<sub>cd</sub> 14 kaiḥ] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, kai? D, kair V<sub>1</sub> • tad]  
DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tad <lakṣaṇam> V<sub>1</sub> 15 <buddhyādīnām . . . tathā> V<sub>1</sub> (eyeskip) 17 karaṇatvāt]  
DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, karaṇatvād P<sub>cd</sub> • vāsyādivad] DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, vāsyādivad <basol???> J<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 4 yaṁ . . . namaḥ (line 7), Bhāgavata 12.13.1 12 bhagavān . . . anumāpakaiḥ, Bhāgavata  
2.2.35

- <sup>1,2</sup>sarvabhūteṣu sarveṣu teṣu draṣṭṛṣu praviṣṭena svātmanā  
svāmśarūpeṇāntaryāmiṇā | ādau  
sarvair draṣṭṛbhir antaryāmī lakṣitaḥ | tatas tena bhagavān api  
lakṣita ity arthaḥ | sa ca sa  
ca pūrvavat dvedhaiva lakṣyate | tathā hi kartṛtvabhokṛtvayor  
asvātantryadarśanāt
- 4 karmanopī jaḍatvāt sarveṣāṃ api jīvānāṃ tatra tatra pravṛttir  
antaḥprajayakaviśeṣaṃ vinā  
na ghaṭata ity anupapattidvārāntaryāmī lakṣyate | eṣa hy  
anenātmanā cakṣuṣā darśayati  
śrotreṇa śrāvayati manasā manayati buddhyā bodhayati tasmād  
etāv āhuḥ sṛtir aṣṭir iti  
bhāllaveyaśrutiḥ ca | atha tasmai cāntaryāmitvavaiśvarya teṣu yadi  
sarvāmśenaiva praviśati
- 8 kopī paras tadā svataḥ pūrṇatvābhāvād anīśvaratvam eva syād ity  
anupapattidvārāntaryāmirūpeṇa tasyāmśena bhagavān api  
lakṣitaḥ | ataeva gītapaniṣatsu  
athavā bahunaitena kim jñātena tavārjuna |  
viṣṭabhyāham idam kṛtsnam ekāmśena sthito jagat || iti |
- 12 viṣṇupurāṇe ca svaśaktileśāvṛtabhūtasarga iti | tathā jīvāḥ  
prajayakakartṛpreritavyāpārāḥ |  
asvātantryāt | takṣādikarmakaraṇavād ity evam antaryāmiṇi  
tattve vyāptidvārā siddhe  
punas tenaiva bhagavān api sādhyate |  
tucchavaibhava jīvāntaryāmisvarūpam īśvaratattvaṃ  
nijaṃśitattvāśrayaṃ tathaiva paryāpteḥ |

<sup>1</sup> 1 sarveṣu teṣu] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, sarveṣu bhūteṣu P<sub>cd</sub> • rūpeṇa] DV<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, rūpa J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> 2 tena] DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>,  
tena <antaryāmiṇā paramātmanā> J<sub>1</sub> 3 dvedhaiva] DK<sub>1</sub>, dvedhai<va> J<sub>1</sub>, dvaidhaiva V<sub>1</sub>,  
dvidhaiva P<sub>cd</sub> 4 tatra tatra] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, tatra <?? . . . > tatra J<sub>2</sub>, tatra tatra <kartṛtvabhokṛt?e>  
V<sub>1</sub> 5 dvārāntaryāmī] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, dvārā antaryāmī DV<sub>1</sub> 6 iti] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, i V<sub>1</sub> 7 etāv]  
DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, etāv <jīvātmaparamāmānau> J<sub>1</sub> 8 teṣu] DJ<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>, teṣu <???v?ṣu> J<sub>2</sub> 10  
gītapaniṣatsu] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, śrīgītapaniṣatsu J<sub>1</sub>P<sub>cd</sub>

<sup>2</sup> 6 sṛtir aṣṭir, Bhāllaveyaśruti quoted in Madhva (?) 10 athavā . . . jagat, Gītā 10.42 12  
svaśaktileśāvṛtabhūtasargaḥ, Viṣṇu (?)



<sup>1,2,3</sup> rājaprabhutvāśritataḥśādikarmakaraprayojakaprabhutvavad iti  
| athavātra

yathendriyaiḥ prthagdvārair artho bahuguṇāśrayaḥ |  
eko nāneyate tadvad bhagavān śāstravartmabhiḥ ||

4 ity evodāharaṇīyam | anenaiva gatisāmānyam ca sidhyatīti || 2 || 2  
|| śrīśukaḥ ||  
pratyavasthāpitam vadantīty ādipadyam ||

iti kali-yuga-pāvana-sva-bhajana-vibhajana-prayojanāvatāra-śrī-  
śrī-bhagavat-kṛṣṇa-

8 caitanya-deva-caraṇānucara-viśva-vaiṣṇava-rāja-sabhā-sabhājana-  
bhājana-śrī-rūpa-  
sanātanānuśāsana-bhāratī-garbhe śrībhāgavatasandarbhe  
paramātmāsandarbho nāma  
tṛtīyaḥ sandarbhaḥ ||

<sup>1</sup> 1 prabhutvāśrita] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, bhṛtyāśrita P<sub>cha</sub> • prabhutvavad] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, prabhutvādivad P<sub>ed</sub> • atra] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, atrāa D, atra <upapattau> V<sub>1</sub> 3 tadvad] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tadvat D • śāstravartmabhiḥ] J<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, śāstraryormibhiḥ V<sub>1</sub> 4 anenaiva] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, anayaiva J<sub>1</sub> • sidhyatīti || 2 | 2 || ] DJ<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, sidhyatīti 22 J<sub>1</sub>, sidhyatīti P<sub>ed</sub> 8 sabhājana-bhājana] J<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, jana-bhājana D, sabhājana J<sub>2</sub> 9 garbhe] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, garbhe ṣaṣṣandarbhātmake P<sub>ed</sub> • śrībhāgavatasandarbhe] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, om. K<sub>1</sub>, śrīśrībhāgavatasandarbhe P<sub>ed</sub> • paramātmā] DJ<sub>1</sub>J<sub>2</sub>K<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, śrīśrīparamātmā P<sub>ed</sub> 10 tṛtīyaḥ sandarbhaḥ] DK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>P<sub>ed</sub>, tṛtīyaḥ sandarbhaḥ 3 J<sub>1</sub>, tṛtīyaḥ sandarbhaḥ || 3 || J<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> Colophons:

A<sub>1</sub>: anena ca śrīrādhākṛṣṇau prīyatām ślokāṅkāḥ 17 || 58 || || śubham bhūyāt || || miti mārgasirasudī || 12 || maṅgalavāra || samvat 190 13 || ||

J<sub>1</sub>: anena śrameṇa śrīrādhākṛṣṇau prīyetām || likhitam ātmapaṭhanārtham vyāsaḥarīlālena jūnyām(?) vāsinā śrīvṛndāvanabāsinā manasā || saṁ 1820 miti phālguna kṛṣṇa 8 śukravāsare jainagare śrīvijaigopālajī ke mandiraviṣa(?) śrīrādhāballabhojayati | atah param śrīkṛṣṇasandarbho bhaviṣyati

J<sub>2</sub>: śrī śrīḥ || śrīḥ || śrīḥ || ||

K<sub>1</sub>: śr???āva??? (worm-eaten)

V<sub>1</sub>: anena ca śrīrādhākṛṣṇau prīṇīyatām || ślokāṅkāḥ || 1758 ||

D: || śloka 2250 || mokāmaśrīrāvām ?āt ||

P<sub>cha</sub>: sanātanasamo yasya jyāyān śrīmān sanātanah | śrīvallabhonujah sosau śrūpo jīvasadgatīḥ ||

P<sub>ed</sub>: śrībhāgavatasandarbhe sarvasandarbhagarbhage | paramātmābhidheyosau sandarbhobhūt tṛtīyakaḥ || samāptoyam śrīśrīparamātmāsandarbhah || mūlam—109; lekhyāḥ 2758 ślokāḥ ||

<sup>3</sup> 2 yathā . . . vartmabhiḥ, Bhāgavata 3.32.33 5 vadanti, Bhāgavata 1.2.11

## TRANSLATION AND NOTES

### Establishing the meaning of the Bhāgavata

Now, by the previous method, the three-fold manifestation<sup>1</sup> will be shown here, without being contradictory to the four-fold manifestation,<sup>2</sup> etc. In the three-fold manifestation, the first manifestation, Śrī Bhagavān has superiority. This Mahā-purāṇa has the name Śrī Bhāgavata because it teaches about him. As it is said, "This Purāṇa, called Bhāgavata, is equal to the Veda."<sup>3</sup> The chief purport of the Bhāgavata will be considered from different angles according to the six indicators (liṅga). "Opening and concluding statements (upakrama-upasaṁhāra), repetition (abhyāsa), novelty (apūrvatā), result (phala), subordinate statements of commendation or praise (arthavāda), and reasoning (upapatti) are the indicators to determine the purport."<sup>4</sup>

### The opening and concluding statements: the first indicator

So by this method, to begin with, (the meaning is seen) by the unity of the opening and concluding statements (upakrama and upasaṁhāra):

<sup>1</sup> The three-fold manifestation (tri-vyūha) is Brahman, Paramātmā, and Bhagavān, as mentioned in Bhāgavata 1.2.11.

<sup>2</sup> The four-fold manifestation (catur-vyūha) consists of Vāsudeva, Śaṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. See Caitanya-caritāmṛta, Madhya-līlā Chapter 20 for a detailed discussion of catur-vyūha theology.

<sup>3</sup> idaṁ bhāgavatam nāma purāṇam brahma-sammitam  
(Bhāgavata 1.3.40)

The compound brahma-sammitam can also be translated as "consists of Brahman," thus establishing the divinity of the Bhāgavata.

<sup>4</sup> upakramopasaṁhārāv abhyāso 'pūrvatā phalam  
arthavādopapattī ca liṅgam tātparya-nirṇaye

Let us meditate on the Supreme Truth, from whom there is the creation, etc. of this (universe)—inferred by positive and negative concomitance in things—who is the all-knower, self-luminous, who revealed the Vedas through the heart to the first sage, about whom the gods are confused, in whom the threefold evolution is not false—like the exchange of fire, water, and earth—and who, by his own strength, is always free from deception.<sup>5</sup>

Let us meditate upon the pure, spotless, sorrowless, immortal, Supreme Truth, which out of compassion illuminated this unparalleled lamp of knowledge to Ka (Brahmā) long ago. Through that form (Brahmā), he gave it to Nārada, and through him to Kṛṣṇamuni (Vyāsa), and through him to Yogīndra (Śuka), and through him to Bhagavadrāta (Parīkṣit).<sup>6</sup>

Here is the meaning of the first verse: “This Bhāgavata is the meaning of the Brahma-sūtra.”<sup>7</sup> Because of the Gāruḍa’s statement that this Mahā-purāṇa is the natural commentary on the Brahma-sūtra, we will first introduce only that aspect (namely, its being a commentary on the Brahma-sūtra).

### Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.1: *Satyam Param Dhīmahi*

#### *The meaning of “Brahma-jijñāsā”: Param Dhīmahi*

The first sūtra in the Brahma-sūtra, “athāto brahma-jijñāsā,” is explained by the half-verse beginning *tejo-vāri-mṛdām*. This (the second half of the verse) is first because it comes first when construing the meaning.<sup>8</sup> Thus,

<sup>5</sup> Bhāgavata 1.1.1, the upakrama:

janmādy asya yato ’nvayād itarataś cārtheṣv abhijñāḥ svarāḥ  
tene brahma hṛdā ya ādikavaye muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ  
tejovārimṛdām yathā vinimayo yatra trisargo ’mṛśā  
dhāmnā svena sadā nirastakuhakam satyam param dhīmahi.  
(Translation based on Sheridan 1994: 51–52)

<sup>6</sup> Bhāgavata 12.13.19, the upasamhāra:

kasmai yena vibhāsito ’yam atulo jñāna-pradīpaḥ purā  
tad-rūpeṇa ca nārādāya munaye kṛṣṇāya tad-rūpiṇā  
yogīndrāya tad-ātmanātha bhagavad-rātāya kāruṇyatas  
tac chuddham vimalam viśokam amṛtam satyam param dhīmahi.

<sup>7</sup> artho ’yam brahma-sūtrāṇām, Gāruḍa Purāṇa (?), quoted in Madhva’s Bhāgavata-tātparyā-nirṇaya 1.1.1.

<sup>8</sup> In other words, when the verse is semantically analyzed, the second half has priority because it contains the verb and the main object. Therefore, it explains the first sūtra of the Brahma-sūtra.

“brahma-jijñāsā” is explained by *param dhīmahī*. *Param*, the Supreme, is Śrī Bhagavān.<sup>9</sup> *Dhīmahī* is dhyāyema.<sup>10</sup>

By yoga-*ṛtti* that is free from the restraints (of *rūḍhi*), *param* refers to Brahman.<sup>11</sup> Due to greatness, Brahman is within everything as the soul and also outside it. Therefore, it is by nature superior (*param*) to everything, just like the sun is to rays, etc. Thus, to indicate his original form,<sup>12</sup> the word “brahman” is explained by the word “param.” And this is intended here to be Bhagavān alone, because the puruṣa is only a portion of Bhagavān,<sup>13</sup> and the undifferentiated Brahman is devoid of qualities and the like (and therefore neither of them can be the referent of *param*).

And the revered Śrī Rāmānuja said, “The word ‘brahman’ is always associated with the quality of greatness. Its primary meaning (*mukhyārtha*) is ‘he in whom there is an unlimited abundance of greatness, both in essential form (*svarūpa*) and qualities (*guṇa*).’ He is indeed the controller of all.”<sup>14</sup> And the *Pracetās* say, “There is indeed no limit to your opulence. Thus you are praised as unlimited.”<sup>15</sup> Thus, it has been suggested that although he has varieties of captivating, eternal forms, he still has a chief form which is supremely wonderful, and which is the basis of all those forms. Then, once it is established that he possesses such a form, by that very supremacy it is established that he is also Bhagavān, who has the forms of Viṣṇu and others, because it has been shown that he is superior to Brahmā, Śiva, and others.

<sup>9</sup> Śrīdhara glosses *param* as *paramēśvaram*.

<sup>10</sup> *Dhīmahī* is the Vedic form of dhyāyema (optative, first person, plural).

<sup>11</sup> “Yoga-*ṛtti*” refers to the meaning of a word based on its etymology, whereas *rūḍhi* is its conventional meaning. Here, Jīva Gosvāmī is using the etymological meaning of “Brahman” (from “*br̥mh*,” “to be great”) to connect it with *param* in the Bhāgavata’s first verse.

<sup>12</sup> The original form (*mūla-rūpa*) is Bhagavān. So the word “param” explains “brahman” because it refers to Brahman’s original form beyond everything, namely, Bhagavān. In this way, Jīva is tying together the words “param,” “brahman” and “bhagavān.”

<sup>13</sup> There are three puruṣas who oversee the working of the material cosmos, namely, Kāraṇodakaśāyī, Garbhodakaśāyī, and Kṣīrodakaśāyī. The first puruṣa glances over the material energy (*prakṛti*) and begins the process of creation, producing all the universes from his pores. The second puruṣa then enters each universe, and from his navel sprouts the lotus of Brahmā. The third puruṣa accompanies each jīva as the overseer. All three are partial manifestations of Bhagavān.

<sup>14</sup> sarvatra bṛhattva-guṇa-yogena hi brahma-śabdaḥ. bṛhattvaṁ ca svarūpeṇa guṇaiś ca yatrānavadhikātiśayaṁ so ‘sya mukhyo ‘rthaḥ. sa ca sarveśvara eva.

(Śrībhāṣya 1.1.1, p. 3)

<sup>15</sup> na hy anto tvadvibhūtinām so ‘nanta iti gīyase

(Bhāgavata 4.30.31)



Now, the explanation of “jijñāsā” is *dhīmahī*, because enquiry (jijñāsā) about him is verily meditation (dhyāna) on him. Bhagavān himself says this in the eleventh, “If one is well versed in the Veda but is not deeply absorbed in the Supreme, then the fruit of his labor is only the labor itself, just like that (labor) of a man protecting a cow which gives no milk.”<sup>16</sup> Thus,<sup>17</sup> I agree with Rāmānuja’s view on the word *dhīmahī*, namely, that deep meditation (nididhyāsana) is the intended meaning of the word “jijñāsā.”<sup>18</sup> Thus, we arrive at the conclusion that the text called Śrī Bhāgavata is the embodiment of the essence of all the Vedas, etc.

The plural form, *dhīmahī*, (is used) in order to convey the necessity of meditation for everyone situated in a time, place, or paramparā. This is because it speaks of meditation on Bhagavān, who is the source (amṣī) of the puruṣas who dwell within unlimited millions of universes.<sup>19</sup> By this (explanation of *dhīmahī*), the doctrine of apparent transformation (vivarta-vāda) (of the Advaitins), which is the very life of the doctrine of a “single jīva” (advocated by a section of the Advaitins), is set aside. The root “dhyai” (in dhyāna) reminds us that Bhagavān also possesses form, because meditation on one who has form is not a difficult thing. When there is an easy means of obtaining a human goal (pum-artha), a person naturally does not execute what is difficult. Therefore, meditation on a formless one is by itself inferior. For this reason, it has been determined that the worshipper of him with form is the foremost among yogīs. So says the Gītopaniṣad:

<sup>16</sup> *Bhāgavata* 11.11.18.

<sup>17</sup> Śyāmdās p. 191.

<sup>18</sup> In his commentary on the first sūtra, Rāmānuja writes, “jñātum icchā jijñāsā. icchāyā iṣyamāṇa-pradhānatvād iṣyamāṇam jñānam iha vidhīyate.” “Jijñāsā is the desire to know. Because the essential characteristic of a desire is the desired object, and the desired object is knowledge, therefore knowledge is enjoined here (by the word jijñāsā)” (1985: 4). The term dhyāna (or nididhyāsana) is central to Rāmānuja’s Vedāntic exegesis, for he sees it as the intended referent for many Upaniṣadic terms such as manana, vedana, darśana, upāsanā and bhakti. Rāmānuja quotes a series of Upaniṣadic passages which exhort one to perform these activities in relation to the Self, and then says, “atra nididhyāsitavya ity ādinā aikārthyāt ‘anuvidya vijñānāti,’ ‘vijñāya prajñānī kurvīta’ ity evam ādibhiḥ vākyaṛtha-jñānasya dhyānopakāratvāt ‘anuvidya,’ ‘vijñāya’ ity anūdya, ‘prajñānī kurvīta,’ ‘vijñānāti’ iti dhyānam vidhīyate.” “Because these passages, such as ‘nididhyāsitavyaḥ . . .’ all have the same meaning, and because knowledge of their syntactical meaning is helpful for meditation, therefore after first stating (the need for knowledge), they enjoin meditation” (ibid.: 15–16).

<sup>19</sup> The three puruṣas mentioned above are antaryāmīs for their respective realms of jurisdiction, namely, the complete aggregate of the material energy, the particular universes, and the individual jīvas. Jīva Gosvāmī discusses the various puruṣas in anuccheda 2 of the *Paramātmāsāraṇa*, where he quotes the Nāradiya Tantra in support of the threefold classification.

Here, reference is made to the second puruṣa, Garbhodakaśāyī Viṣṇu, who appears in many forms because of the differences in the creation (bahubhedād bahubhedah). Jīva wants to draw attention to the fact that although Bhagavān is one, the jīvas are many, and all of them are implied in the word *dhīmahī*.

Those who fix the mind on me and always engage in worshipping me with great faith, I consider the best.<sup>20</sup> But those who worship the imperishable, indescribable, Unmanifest, and who are devoted to the good of all beings, they too reach me.<sup>21</sup> There are great troubles for those attached to the Unmanifest. The unmanifest state is achieved with difficulty by those who are embodied.<sup>22</sup>

This is also clarified by Brahmā: "O mighty Lord! Those who reject the path of bhakti, which is the source of all welfare, and strain to obtain mere knowledge, suffer. Suffering is all that is left, and nothing else, just as in the case of those who thresh empty husks."<sup>23</sup>

Thus, it has been established that the object of meditation is Bhagavān himself. Śiva and others have been ruled out. Also, the prayer that is expressed by the optative form of *dhūmahī*, which is not associated with any other object, makes it apparent that the worship of Bhagavān is implied by meditation, because of his being the highest human goal. Therefore, the optative verb makes it self-evident that Bhagavān is the highest human goal,<sup>24</sup> and it indicates that he has a supremely captivating form, as previously stated.

So also (in the Gītā), "Of Vedas, I am the Sāma Veda."<sup>25</sup> Also therein, "And of Sāmas, I am the Bṛhatsāma."<sup>26</sup> In the Bṛhatsāma, whose greatness is thus declared, it is stated, "The abode is great, the earth is great, the sky is great, heaven is great, the splendor is great, more splendorous than great things, more beautiful than beautiful things."<sup>27</sup>

### *The meaning of "athātaḥ": satyam*

In this way, "brahma-jijñāsā" has been explained. The explanation of "athātaḥ" is *satyam*. This is because there the word "atha" has the sense of "coming directly after." The word "ataḥ" signifies that that which has been completed is the reason (for the present endeavor).<sup>28</sup> Therefore, "atha" means "according to the sequence of Vedic study, when the ritual section of the Vedas (karma-kāṇḍa) has already been mastered by means of the pūrvamīmāṃsā—immediately after acquiring a full knowledge of karma . . ."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Gītā 12.2.

<sup>21</sup> Gītā 12.3–4.

<sup>22</sup> Gītā 12.5.

<sup>23</sup> Bhāgavata 10.14.4.

<sup>24</sup> In other words, all living beings would be requested to meditate on Bhagavān only if he were the worthiest goal to be attained.

<sup>25</sup> Gītā 10.22.

<sup>26</sup> Gītā 10.35.

<sup>27</sup> Bṛhatsāma (?).

<sup>28</sup> This sentence is essentially quoted from Rāmānuja's commentary on Brahma-sūtra 1.1.1: *atrāyam atha śabda ānantarye bhavati; ataś śabdo vṛttasya hetubhāve* (1985: 2).

<sup>29</sup> Jīva is following Rāmānuja's interpretation of "athātaḥ." He quotes the relevant passage below.

“Ataḥ” means “according to this sequence (of study), immediately after the brahma-kāṇḍa has been arrived at and all its meaning ascertained by means of the uttara-mīmāṃsā, and by reason of the specified meaning of a statement that has already been studied, . . .” It is understood that (the uttara-mīmāṃsā should be studied) after the pūrva-mīmāṃsā because the pūrva-mīmāṃsā is the *prima facie* view in relation to the uttara-mīmāṃsā, which is the conclusive response.<sup>30</sup> And in those sections where it is not in conflict, the pūrva-mīmāṃsā can be helpful to the uttara-mīmāṃsā. Another reason (to first study the pūrva-mīmāṃsā) is that ritual brings about purification of the mind, which is characterized by such qualities as peace.

And we also have these statements,<sup>31</sup> “And as here in this world the possession of a territory won by action comes to an end, so in the here-after a world won by merit comes to an end. Those here in this world who depart after discovering the self and these real desires obtain complete freedom of movement is all the worlds.”<sup>32</sup> “He does not return again.”<sup>33</sup> “He (the jīva) partakes of infinity.”<sup>34</sup> “The pure person attains the highest equality.”<sup>35</sup> “Those who, resorting to this knowledge, have attained my own nature are not born during creation, nor do they suffer during destruction.”<sup>36</sup>

Now, both of these<sup>37</sup> are described in Śrī Rāmānuja’s commentary:

It is said that the fruits of karma, which is known from the earlier section of Mīmāṃsā, are impermanent and paltry, and the fruits of knowledge of Brahman, which is learnt in the later section, are imperishable and infinite. Therefore, Brahman should be known subsequent to the knowledge of karma. This is what is stated here. The same has been said by the very first commentator (on the Brahma-sūtra), the blessed Baudhāyana, “Immediately after

<sup>30</sup> The utility of the pūrva-mīmāṃsā (Jaimini’s sūtras) for the student is that it functions as the pūrva-pakṣa—the *prima facie* view to which the argument is directed. By studying that first, one can understand the uttara-mīmāṃsā (Bādarāyaṇa’s Brahma-sūtra), which provides the proper conclusion (uttara-pakṣa or siddhānta). This understanding of the relation between pūrva-mīmāṃsā and uttara-mīmāṃsā is not taken from Rāmānuja, who sees the two as putting forward a single, coherent viewpoint.

<sup>31</sup> These Upaniṣadic passages are quoted in order to highlight the difference between this temporary world and the eternal world of Brahman. The contrast between the two is the main lesson to be learned by studying the pūrvamīmāṃsā.

<sup>32</sup> Chāndogya 8.1.6. Translation by Olivelle.

<sup>33</sup> Source unknown.

<sup>34</sup> Śvetāśvatara 5.9.

<sup>35</sup> Muṇḍaka 3.1.3.

<sup>36</sup> Gītā 14.2.

<sup>37</sup> That is, the eternal and the temporary, or the paths of karma and brahma-jñāna.

the study of karma has been completed, there is inquiry into Brahman."<sup>38</sup>

This is also apparent in the story of Purañjana, in the etymology of the words "pitṛhū" and "devahū," (which correspond to) the right and left ears.<sup>39</sup> The reason for inquiry into Brahman (brahma-jijñāsā) is the knowledge of the reality (satyatva) of Brahman's constant, supreme happiness. This occurs after complete knowledge of the karma-kāṇḍa, and after deliberating on the real nature of the happiness found in heaven, etc., which is described in certain statements found in the brahma-kāṇḍa, and thus realizing that it is actually transitory and miserable.

Once this meaning of "athātaḥ" is known, he now gives the meaning that is ultimately arrived at.<sup>40</sup> *Satyam* is the unchanging (or constant) existence, which gives existence to everything else. We get this meaning because of the syntactical connection (anvaya) of *satyam* with *param*. In the śruti passage, "satyaṁ jñānaṁ anantaṁ brahma,"<sup>41</sup> *satyam* is also syntactically connected with Brahman.<sup>42</sup> Then, because the existence of another person is dependent on his wish, that person's existence turns out to be transitory.

<sup>38</sup> mīmāṃsāpūrvabhāga-jñātasya karmaṇo 'lpāsthira-phalatvāt uparitanabhāgāvase-yasyānantiākṣaya-phalatvāc ca pūrvavṛttāt karmajñānād anantaraṁ tata eva hetor brahma jñātavyam ity uktam bhavati. tadāha vṛttikāraḥ—vṛttāt karmādhigamād anantaraṁ brahmavividiṣā iti.

(1985: 4)

<sup>39</sup> The story of Purañjana is related by Nārada to Mahārāja Prācīnabarhi in the fourth book of the Bhāgavata. The story is an analogy for the life of the King himself, by which Nārada hopes to awaken him to his sinful ways and their consequences. The apertures of the body are represented by different gates of Purañjana's city, which he "enters" for different kinds of sense enjoyment. The southern and northern gates, corresponding to the right and left ears when facing east, are described as the pitṛhū-dvār (the gate invoking the Pitṛs) and the devahū-dvār (the gate invoking the devas), respectively. The right ear is used for hearing karma-kāṇḍa, leading to enjoyment in the realm of the Pitṛs, whereas the left ear is used for initiation into brahma-jñāna, leading to realm of the gods (or God). The important point here is the order in which Purañjana visits these gates. Śrīdhara Svāmī explains, "śravaṇa-kāle ca balādhikeyād dakṣiṇa-karṇaḥ prathamam pravartate. śāstre ca prathamam śrotavyam karma-kāṇḍam." "The right ear comes first because it has greater power when hearing. So also in the matter of scripture, the karma-kāṇḍa should be heard first" (commentary on 4.25.50–51).

<sup>40</sup> So far, Jīva has explained the phrase "athātaḥ" in its usual mīmāṃsā context. Now he proceeds to explain in terms of the Bhāgavata's first verse, or more specifically, by the word *satyam*.

<sup>41</sup> "Brahman is existence, knowledge, infinity." (Taittirīya 2.1.2).

<sup>42</sup> Because the words are in apposition, it can be concluded that *satyam* is *param* is Brahman, and that the existence (*satyam*) of Brahman is supreme (*param*). This is the same conclusion that was reached by the "usual" method of explaining "athātaḥ," given above. Thus, *satyam* is the proper commentary on "athātaḥ."



So here, the sense is, “Until now, we have been meditating on the things of transitory existence. Let us now meditate on the one whose existence is unchanging.”<sup>43</sup>

*The essential definition: Dhāmnā Svena . . .*

Now, *dhāmnā* clearly indicates (the Lord’s) supremacy. Here, the word *dhāma* refers to power (*prabhāva*) or splendor (*prakāśa*), since there are various kinds of meaning given in the *Amarakośa* and other lexicons.<sup>44</sup> “*Dhāma* means house, body, light, or splendor.”<sup>45</sup> It does not, however, mean “one’s own form (*svarūpa*).”<sup>46</sup> Also, the word *kuhaka* refers to that which deceives, namely the *māyā* power which covers and tosses the *jīva*’s *svarūpa*.<sup>47</sup> So (the meaning of the whole phrase is), “(We meditate on) him, by whose *śakti*—that is, by whose personal power or splendor (*svena dhāmnā*)—the power of *māyā* the deceiver (*kuhakam*) is always (*sadā*) destroyed (*nirastam*). So it is stated, “Casting away *māyā* by the *śakti* of knowledge . . .”<sup>48</sup> If this *śakti* were incidental (to *Bhagavān*), the word *svena* would be pointless. But when *svena* is explained in the sense of “his own *svarūpa*,” the interpretation is successful.<sup>49</sup> In whatever way we explain (the phrase *dhāmnā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakam*), we arrive at the same conclusion: the *śakti* has the quality of destroying deceit. That is made clear by the third (instrumental) case, which has the sense of “the most effective means.”<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Jīva Gosvāmī* has thus given the same sense to *satyaṁ paraṁ dhīmahi*, as he did to *athātaḥ brahma-jijñāsā*: “Having done that, let us now do this.”

<sup>44</sup> *Śrīdhara* glosses *dhāmnā* as *mahasā* (also “power” or “splendor”).

<sup>45</sup> *gr̥hadehatviṭprabhāvā dhāmāni*  
(*Amarakośa* 3.3.124)

<sup>46</sup> If *dhāma* did mean *svarūpa*, it would make the next word in the verse—*svena*, his own—redundant.

<sup>47</sup> The *māyā-śakti* of *Bhagavān* has two functions in relation to the *jīva*, namely, obscuring his natural properties of *sac-cid-ānanda (āvaraṇa)*, and casting him into various confusing situations (*vikṣepaṇa*). *Śrīdhara* explains *kuhakam* as *kapataṁ māyālakṣaṇam*, deceit that is a characteristic of *māyā*.

<sup>48</sup> This phrase occurs in a prayer by Queen *Kuntī* to *Kṛṣṇa* (*Bhāgavata* 1.7.23). “You are the original *puruṣa* himself, the Lord who is beyond *prakṛti*. Casting away *māyā* by the *cit-śakti*, you are situated in your own beatitude (*kaivalya*).”

<sup>49</sup> *Jīva Gosvāmī* here introduces the key *Caitanyite* concept of *svarūpa-śakti*, the internal or personal energy of *Bhagavān*. Above, it was said that the word *dhāma* does not mean *svarūpa*, but rather the *śakti* which is his splendor (*prakāśa*). Here, the word *svena* is glossed as *svarūpa*. Thus, from *dhāmnā svena* we get *svarūpa-śakti*.

<sup>50</sup> *Jīva* is referring to *Pāṇini*’s rule in the *Kāraka* section of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: “*sādhakatamam karaṇam*,” “the instrument has the sense of ‘most effective means’” (1.4.42).

By this, we can also understand his essential definition as that principle or entity which is distinct from *māyā* and its effects. Thus, we can understand the *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*.<sup>51</sup> This is quite well known through śruti statements, "Brahman is existence, knowledge, and infinity,"<sup>52</sup> "Brahman is wisdom and bliss."<sup>53</sup> The word *satyam* is used to indicate these śruti passages. The *svarūpa-śakti* has already been directly mentioned (by *dhāmnā svena*), and so it is very obvious that this (Supreme Truth) is Bhagavān.

*Refutation of Advaita: Tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ . . .*

Now, *yatra* gives the reason for his being the chief Truth.<sup>54</sup> Bhagavān Vāsudeva, being Brahman, is situated everywhere. The creation, consisting of the living beings, senses, and gods, based on the three *guṇas*, is situated in him, and he is their master.<sup>55</sup> That creation is not false (*amṛṣā*). It is not superimposed upon his energies, etc., like silver (on a shell). Rather, it is always situated in Brahman, who is referred to in the famous śruti passage "From which these . . .,"<sup>56</sup> For this reason (it is said in the *Brahma-sūtra*), "But the creation of name and form is from him who made it tripartite, for this is the teaching."<sup>57</sup> By this rule, the creation is certainly real (*satya*), for it has only one creator.

In the verse, the non-falsity (of the creation) is also established by an example. The exchange of fire, etc., is the mutual transposition of portions (of each element). This means that a portion of each element is situated in

<sup>51</sup> Following Śrīdhara Svāmī, Jīva now explains the verse in terms of the categories of *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* (essential definition) and *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa* (definition *per accidens*). According to Śrīdhara, the second half of the verse offers Brahman's *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*, whereas the first half offers the *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*.

<sup>52</sup> *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.1.2.

<sup>53</sup> *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3.9.28.

<sup>54</sup> Here, Jīva Gosvāmī begins his explanation of the difficult third line, by which he refutes the *advaita* view of the creation as a superimposition (*āropa* or *adhyāsa*) on Brahman.

<sup>55</sup> This sentence is a paraphrase of Śrīdhara's gloss: "*yatra yasmin brahmaṇi trayāṇāṁ māyā-guṇāṇāṁ tamo-rajah-sattvāṇāṁ sargo bhutendriya-devatā-rupo 'mṛṣā satyaḥ*." Jīva expands on Śrīdhara's gloss of *yatra* (*yasmin brahmaṇi*, "in which Brahman") by identifying Brahman with Bhagavān: "*brahmatvāt sarvatra sthite vāsudeve bhagavati yasmin*," "in whom, in Bhagavān Vāsudeva, situated everywhere, because of his being Brahman." Jīva thus makes the term "brahman" a qualifier of "Bhagavān" that indicates Bhagavān's all-pervasiveness. This is in accord with the respective functions assigned to Brahman, *Paramātmā* and Bhagavān in Gauḍīya theology.

<sup>56</sup> "That from which these beings are born; on which, once born, they live; and into which they pass upon death—seek to perceive that! That is brahman!" (*Taittirīya* 3.1.1, translation by Olivelle).

<sup>57</sup> *saṁjñā-mūrti-kṛtis tu trivṛt-kurvata upadeśāt*  
(2.4.20)

the others.<sup>58</sup> This (transposition of elements) is not like a falsity, but only as the Lord created them.<sup>59</sup> “Each of these three deities becomes threefold. The red appearance of a fire is, in fact, the appearance of heat, the white, that of water, and the black, that of earth or food.”<sup>60</sup>

Since the interpretation given here is based on the śruti, other imaginary interpretations are automatically defeated. In those interpretations, fire and the other elements, which were indicated in a general way (in the verse), are explained in a particular way. This does not please the grammarians. If this was what the Bhāgavata meant, it would have said “like water in a mirage” and similarly for the other elements.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, in that view, the threefold creation (*trisarga*) is not born from Brahman in the primary sense of the word “born”. Rather, the word *janma* is taken in the sense of superimposition (*āropa*). In other words, that superimposition takes place due to error (*bhrama*). Now error depends upon similarity. But similarity can make both entities the substratum of error, given a difference in time. Therefore, there is also the possibility of having the erroneous knowledge of a shell in

<sup>58</sup> *teja-ādīnām vinimayaḥ* parasparāṁśa-vyatyayaḥ parasparasminn arīṣeṇāvasthitiḥ ity arthaḥ. Jīva is speaking here of *trivṛt-karaṇa*, a process of partition by which each of the base elements—earth, water, and fire—are compounded with parts of the other two. First each element is divided into equal halves, and one half is further halved. Then, the half part of each element is combined with a quarter of each of the other two. The resultant three compounds are named “earth,” “water,” and “fire” depending on the predominant element in each. In order to account for the other two elements—sky (*ākāśa*) and air (*vāyu*)—Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja expanded *trivṛt-karaṇa* into *pañcī-karaṇa*, a similar process of five-fold partition.

<sup>59</sup> Here, Jīva strongly disagrees with Śrīdhara, who takes *vinimaya* as the mistaken appearance of one element in another, like fire reflected in water, or the mirage of water on land. By this interpretation of *tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ yathā vinimayaḥ*, the phrase becomes an example of the insubstantial nature of the *trisargaḥ*. Jīva, however, takes *vinimaya* in the sense of *trivṛt-karaṇa*, which means that the Bhāgavata here is giving an example of the method in which Brahman undertakes the real *trisarga*.

<sup>60</sup> *imās tisro devatās trivṛd ekaikā bhavati. yad agne rohitam rūpaṁ tejasas tad-rūpaṁ yac chuklaṁ tad apām yat kṛṣṇaṁ tat prthivyāḥ tad annasya.*  
(Chāndogya 6.3.4, 6.4.1, translation by Olivelle)

<sup>61</sup> The *pūrvapakṣin* here is Śrīdhara Svāmī who writes:

*vinimayo vyatyayo 'nyasminn anyāvabhāsaḥ. sa yathādhiṣṭhāna-sattayā sadvat pratīyata ity arthaḥ. tatra tejaṣi vāri-buddhir marīci-toye prasiddhā. mṛdi kācādu vāri-buddhir vāriṇi ca kācādi-buddhir ityādi yathā-yatham ūhyam*

*Vinimaya* is transposition—the appearance of one thing in another. That (appearance) passes as reality because of the underlying existence. In this regard, the perception of water in a mirage, which is the fire element, is well known. There is also the perception of water in glass, which is the earth element, the perception of glass in water, and so on with the other elements, substituting them as appropriate.



silver.<sup>62</sup> There is no hard and fast rule that the substratum of error is only one and that the things created by error are many. For this reason, it is possible to confuse trees, smoke, and a mountain at a great distance with a large cloud. So also in this case, the threefold creation (*trisarga*) is being directly perceived since time immemorial, and Brahman shines forth on its own, because it is pure consciousness.<sup>63</sup> Then, if the *jīva*, who has been oppressed by beginningless ignorance, has the confusion of the *trisarga* in Brahman, why is it never the case that he also has the confusion of Brahman in the *trisarga*? So one has to conclude that Brahman becomes the substratum (of ignorance). If this is not so, then there will be the contingency of total chaos.

Besides, agency of superimposition cannot take place for pure consciousness, even as it cannot take place in the case of an insentient entity. But their (the Advaitins') view is that Brahman is pure consciousness. Therefore, when the explanation is established based on śruti, the following viewpoint would emerge: the superimposition of something occurs in the place where that thing does not actually exist, but is seen elsewhere. Thus, in actual fact, because the superimposition is not connected to the actual object, the object's existence cannot give rise to the superimposition.<sup>64</sup> Rather, because the threefold creation (*trisarga*) is born from Bhagavān—in the primary sense

<sup>62</sup> Normally, one mistakes a shell for silver (since silver is the desirable object), but there is also the possibility of mistaking silver for a shell. This is because both objects are similar, and the perceiver has had a separate ("given a difference in time") perception of each item. The Advaitins claim that Brahman mistakenly appears as the world, due to the superimposition of the latter on the former. The challenge, then, is whether Brahman and the world are similar enough to cause such confusion, and whether the world can also mistakenly appear like Brahman. The answer, of course, will be negative for both. The Advaitin could then argue: it is impossible to have the mistaken appearance of Brahman in the world, because there is no one-to-one correspondence—the world is multifarious and Brahman is only one. To this, Jīva replies that it is in fact possible to have the superimposition of a single object on a collection of objects, as when a mountain, smoke, and trees are all together mistaken for a cloud. This argument against the Advaita theory of superimposition is found in Sudarśana Sūri's Śruta-prakāśikā.

<sup>63</sup> In other words, both Brahman and the world are independently knowable entities, like silver and a shell, and so there is no obvious reason why one should be real and the other a product of confusion.

<sup>64</sup> The point is this: by definition the actual object is absent from the superimposition; therefore there is no connection between the superimposition and the object upon which it is superimposed. For example, when silver is superimposed on a shell, the actual silver is absent, and so there can be no connection between silver and the shell. Therefore, the shell cannot give rise to the appearance of silver. Similarly, when the world is superimposed on Brahman, there is, by definition, no world actually present there, and so there is no connection between the world and Brahman. Therefore the world's existence cannot be derived from Brahman's supreme reality.

Jīva Gosvāmī is arguing here against the explanation given by Śrīdhara Svāmī, who glosses the words *trisargomṛṣā* as "sargo 'mṛṣā satyaḥ," "the creation is real," but then explains that reality as follows: "yat-satyatayā mithyā-sargo 'pi satyavat pratīyate taṁ param satyam ity arthaḥ." "The Supreme Reality is he by whose reality even the false world appears to be real."



(of “born”)<sup>65</sup>—and Bhagavān is qualified by the trisarga-śakti, and because this is taught by negative concomitance (vyatireka), therefore the *trisarga* exists in Bhagavān, the all-soul, as distinguished from him. It is not superimposed on him. Nevertheless, there is only a suspicion of superimposition, since he is untouched by the *trisarga*, due to the inconceivable śakti, by the same reasoning as (we used in explaining) *dhāmnā*, etc.

And so, “just as the light of a fire situated in one place spreads,”<sup>66</sup> in the same way, the creation’s existence arises by Bhagavān’s existence. Therefore, Bhagavān’s existence is primary, and the threefold creation is not false. And likewise, the śruti, “‘The real behind the real,’ and indeed the prāṇas are the real, and behind them, this (self) is the real.”<sup>67</sup> The word “prāṇa” refers to the gross and subtle elements, which are known to be real by practical experience. Thus, the śruti proves that their original cause, the Supreme Truth (parama-satya), is Bhagavān.

### Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.2: *Janmādy Asya Yataḥ*

#### *The definition per accidens*

Now, the verse also reveals that same Bhagavān by definition *per accidens* (taṭastha-lakṣaṇa). First of all, desiring to inform us that this saṁhitā<sup>68</sup> is a commentary on the Brahma-sūtra, full of brilliant meanings, the verse begins by restating the second sūtra: *janmādy asya yataḥ*. *Janmādi* is creation, maintenance, and annihilation.<sup>69</sup> It is a tad-guṇa-saṁvijñāna bahuvrīhi

<sup>65</sup> That is, not in the sense of āropa, or superimposition, which is an indirect meaning of *janma*.

<sup>66</sup> *eka-deśa-sthitasāgner jyotsnā vistāriṇī yathā  
parasya brahmaṇaḥ śaktis tathedaṁ akhilaṁ jagat*

Just as the light of a fire situated in one place spreads, so the energy of the supreme Brahman (pervades) the entire universe.

(Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.22.54)

<sup>67</sup> Brhadāraṇyaka 2.1.20.

<sup>68</sup> The Bhāgavata calls itself the “sātvata-saṁhitā,” perhaps as a reference to its connection with the Pāñcarātrika saṁhitā tradition.

*anarthopaśamaṁ sākṣād bhakti-yogam adhoḥśaje  
lokasyājānato vidvāṁś cakre sātvata-saṁhitām*

The learned (Vyāsa) composed the sātvata-saṁhitā for people who do not know bhakti-yoga for Adhoḥśaja (Viṣṇu), which directly removes unwanted things.

(1.7.6)

<sup>69</sup> The following commentary on *janmādy asya yataḥ*, up to the discussion of Bhagavān’s śaktis, is basically a summary of Rāmānuja’s commentary on that sūtra.

compound.<sup>70</sup> The syntactical order of the words in the verse (anvaya) is as follows: Let us meditate (*dhīmaḥi*) on him, the Supreme (*param*), from whom (*yataḥ*) there is the birth, etc. (*janmādi*) of this world (*asya*). The world, which is full of many agents and enjoyers, from Brahmā to the clump of grass, which includes a variety of wonderful creations that are inconceivable to the mind, and which is the repository of the results of both fixed duties and those occasioned by a particular time or place, comes from him.<sup>71</sup> Through the inconceivable śakti, he is himself the material cause as well as the agent, etc.<sup>72</sup>

And here is the statement under discussion (viśaya-vākya): "Bṛghu, the son of Varuṇa, once went up to his father Varuṇa and said: 'Sir, teach me brahman.'" Beginning like this, (the passage continues), "That from which these beings are born; on which, once born, they live; and into which they pass upon death—seek to perceive that! That is brahman!"<sup>73</sup> And also, "It created fire (tejas) . . ."<sup>74</sup>

The world, which has birth, etc., is an accidental characteristic (upalakṣaṇa); it is not a defining characteristic (viśeṣaṇa).<sup>75</sup> Therefore, the world is not included during meditation on him. Rather, we should only meditate on him, the pure. Furthermore, it has already been stated that Brahman is characterized by qualities.<sup>76</sup> Here, the fact that such a Brahman is the cause of the birth, etc., of the world indicates that he possesses all śaktis, his purposes are fulfilled, he knows everything, and he is the lord of everything.<sup>77</sup> "He knows everything. He is omniscient. His austerity consists of

<sup>70</sup> *Janmādi* is a neuter singular possessive compound—"that which has janma as its first member." It thus refers to the triad of birth, maintenance, and annihilation. Because janma is included in this triad, the compound is a tad-guṇa-saṁvijnāna bahuvrīhi, that is, a possessive compound in which the constituent elements are included in the object to which the compound refers. A standard example of such a compound is lamba-karṇa, "the long-eared man," where the long ears are included in the man to which the compound refers.

<sup>71</sup> Jīva is using the same language as Rāmānuja, who writes: "asya acintya-vididha-vicitra-racanasya niyata-deśa-kāla-phala-bhoga-brahmādi-stamba-paryanta-kṣetrajña-mīśrasya jagataḥ" (1985: 272).

<sup>72</sup> This refers to the two causes of the world recognized in Vedānta, namely, the material cause (upādāna-kāraṇa) and the efficient cause or the agent (nimitta-kāraṇa). Brahman is both, albeit through his śakti.

<sup>73</sup> Taittirīya 3.1.1 (translation by Olivelle).

<sup>74</sup> Chāndogya 6.2.3. The passage describes the process of creation from the original single existence (sat). This sat created fire that created water that created food. The passage thus fits neatly with the Bhāgavata verse.

<sup>75</sup> Rāmānuja agrees: "jagat-sṛṣṭi-sthiti-pralayair upalakṣaṇa-bhūtair brahma pratipatturṇ śakyate" (1985: 278). To say that the world is an upalakṣaṇa of Brahman is another way of affirming that it is part of his tatastha-lakṣaṇa, and not svarūpa-lakṣaṇa.

<sup>76</sup> At various points in the commentary, Jīva has shown that Brahman possesses the qualities of paratvam (supremacy), mūrtatvam (form), satyatvam (truth or existence), and so on. Now, Brahman's relation to the world indicates further qualities, even though that relation is only an accidental characteristic of his.

<sup>77</sup> Rāmānuja says: "jagan-nimittopādānatākṣipta-sarvajñatva-satya-saṅkalpatva-vicitra-śaktitvādy-ākāra-bṛhatvena pratipannaṁ brahmeti" (1985: 279).

knowledge.”<sup>78</sup> “The controller of all,” and so on in the śruti.<sup>79</sup> This supremacy indicates that his essential form (svarūpa) is opposed to all detestable things, which are destroyed in him, and that he possesses unlimited auspicious qualities, such as knowledge.<sup>80</sup> “It is known that he does not have a body or sense organs,” and so on in the śruti.<sup>81</sup>

### *The nature of Bhagavān*

As for those who claim that an unqualified substance is the object of inquiry, in their view, *janmādy asya yataḥ* would be inappropriate for the inquiry into Brahman.<sup>82</sup> (Their view is incorrect) because the etymology of “brahman” is “unsurpassed greatness and growth” and it is stated here that Brahman is the cause of the birth, etc., of the world. Similarly, in the following sūtras, as well as in the groups of śruti passages cited by them, we see that qualities such as “thinking” (īkṣāṇa) are associated (with Brahman).<sup>83</sup> For this reason, the sūtras and the śrutis cited by them do not prove the above view.

The subject matter of logic is that it is concerned with a thing in which the properties of what is to be proved are invariably associated with the properties of the means of proof.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, logic also does not prove an unqualified substance.

<sup>78</sup> Muṇḍaka 1.1.9.

<sup>79</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka 4.4.22. The passage continues, “[This Self is] the lord of all, the ruler of all. . . . He is the master of all. He is the ruler of beings. He is the protector of beings.”

<sup>80</sup> Rāmānuja says: “yataḥ yasmāt sarveśvarān nikhila-heyā-pratyanīka-svarūpāt satya-saṅkalpāj jñānānandādy-ananta-kalyāṇa-guṇāt . . .” (1985: 273–274).

<sup>81</sup> na tasya kāryaṁ karaṇaṁ ca vidyate na tat-samaś cābhyadhikaś ca dṛśyate  
parāśya śaktir vividhaiva śrūyate svābhāvikī jñāna-bala-kriyā ca  
(Śvetāśvatara 6.8)

It is known that he does not have a body or sense organs. It is seen that there is none equal to, or greater than, him. It is heard that (his) śakti, which is supreme, manifold, and part of his very nature, is knowledge, strength, and activity.

This verse plays a key role in establishing the doctrine of three śaktis in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism.

<sup>82</sup> This phrase can also be translated as: “In their view, “janmady asya yataḥ” would be unrelated to “brahma-jijñāsā” (the first sūtra).” Since “janmady asya yataḥ” describes a qualified entity, this sūtra could not be describing the same substance as the first sūtra, which, according to this view, speaks of the unqualified Brahman. Thus, the second sūtra becomes unrelated to the first, and becomes irrelevant for one inquiring about Brahman.

<sup>83</sup> Sūtra five, īkṣater nāśabdam, is associated with Chāndogya 6.2.1–4: “In the beginning, dear child, there was only this existence (sat), one without a second. . . . It thought (aikṣata), ‘Let me become many. Let me propagate.’”

<sup>84</sup> Jīva is referring here to vyāpti, which is the invariable concomitance of the sādhyā and sādhana (or hetu). Vyāpti is at the heart of any logical inference (anumāna). For a definition of each term and examples, see the discussion on the Bhāgavata’s reasoning-verse (upapatti) in Chapter 4 of this book.



"Brahman is that from which there is the error (bhrama) of the birth, etc., of the world." Even accepting this imaginary view of yours, an unqualified substance is not established, because you must admit that basis of confusion is ignorance, and the witness of ignorance is Brahman. And Brahman is said to be a witness because he is essentially luminous.<sup>85</sup> But luminosity is what distinguishes (a conscious entity) from an inert object, because by nature it makes itself and other things available for ordinary experience. Thus, (Brahman has) the condition of being qualified.<sup>86</sup> Without that, there would be no luminosity. There would be nothing.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, (the Māyāvādīs think that) their doctrine will be proven by the phrase *tejo-vāri-mṛdām*. (But if we accept their view,) *janmādy asya yataḥ* becomes pointless.<sup>88</sup>

Therefore, once Brahman is proved to be qualified, that quality turns out to be śakti. And śakti has been shown to be threefold—internal (antaraṅgā), external (bahiraṅgā), and marginal (taṭasthā). Among these, the external śakti alone forms the direct cause in regard to the world's modifications, such as birth. Therefore, the external śakti also has the name "māyā," as previously mentioned. And we are the marginal śakti, referred to by the word *dhīmahi*.

Now, the birth, etc., of this world are from the puruṣa, who is a portion of Bhagavān, and who is qualified by the śakti called prakṛti that is the material cause of the world. Even so, the puruṣa's causality ultimately culminates in Bhagavān alone. Something that takes birth in a part of the ocean, takes birth in the ocean itself. As it is said, "Prakṛti is the material cause of what is existent, the supreme puruṣa is the support, and time is what manifests it. But I, Brahman, am these three (prakṛti, puruṣa, and time)."<sup>89</sup>

And even *janmādy asya yataḥ* indicates that Bhagavān possesses form. He is the repository of unlimited supreme śaktis that are the source of the form energy (mūrti-śakti) pertaining to the world, which has a tangible form. This is implied because he is accepted as the supreme cause. But while he possesses

<sup>85</sup> A witness is able to perceive an object only when it is illuminated. Since Brahman is the first and independent perceiver, he must be self-illuminating. That is, he illuminates himself and others by his own luminosity.

<sup>86</sup> Earlier in his commentary, Rāmānuja defines a quality (viśeṣa) as a vyāvartaka—that which distinguishes one object from another. Since being luminous is what distinguishes a conscious entity from an inert one, luminosity is a quality, or viśeṣa. Since Brahman is essentially luminous, he must be qualified, or saviśeṣa.

<sup>87</sup> The last three paragraphs are directly quoted from Rāmānuja's commentary on Brahmasūtra 1.1.2 (1985: 283–284).

<sup>88</sup> As described above, the Advaitins interpret *tejo-vāri-mṛdām yathā vinimayaḥ* as the false appearance of one element in another, and then conclude from this analogy that the world is a superimposition on Brahman. This means that in fact nothing substantial comes from Brahman, which makes the phrase *janmādy asya yataḥ* pointless.

<sup>89</sup> This verse (Bhāgavata 11.24.19) is spoken by Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava.



form, he does not take birth from another being, due to the problem of infinite regress. So, only one single principle must be accepted as the first, just like the Unmanifest (*avyakta*) of the Sāṅkhya philosophers.<sup>90</sup> This is because of the specific denial by the following scripture: "He is the cause, the ruler of the ruler of the senses. No one is his parent or ruler."<sup>91</sup> (The Lord is proved to have form) because of the declaration by this very śruti. This form is beginningless, perfect, non-material, and natural.

### *Bhagavān is Nārāyaṇa*

Thus, once it has been established that he has a form, it follows that the person who possesses form is Bhagavān, and none other. Bhagavān is directly Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, etc. As in the Dāna-dharma, "From whom all beings arise at the beginning of the first age, and in whom they are again destroyed at the end of the age . . ."<sup>92</sup> This and similar teaching are found at the beginning of the Sahasra-nāma. As it is said therein, "He has an indescribable form. He is beautiful."<sup>93</sup> So also in the Skānda, "The creator, protector, and destroyer is Lord Hari alone. Others' being the creator, etc., is said to be like a wooden, female doll. The entire creation, etc., arises in every way from Viṣṇu alone. It is not, however, produced by the complete Self, but only from the activity of a part."<sup>94</sup> And in the Mahopaniṣad, "He creates through Brahmā. He destroys through Rudra. . . ."<sup>95</sup> Therefore, it is described, "For the creation and destruction of the universe, Hiranyagarbha (Brahmā) and Śarva (Śiva) are mere instruments of formless time, which is yours, the Lord's."<sup>96</sup> (Hiranyagarbha and Śarva are) mere instruments of your time, that is, the time-śakti, which is formless. "Your" is a vyadhikaraṇa-śaṣṭhī, a genitive which is separately construed.<sup>97</sup> "The first incarnation of

<sup>90</sup> Even the non-theistic Sāṅkhya system must accept a primeval entity, called the *avyakta*, from which everything evolves, but which itself has no cause.

<sup>91</sup> Śvetāśvatara 9.9.

<sup>92</sup> Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana-parva) 13.135.11.

<sup>93</sup> Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra verse 19.

<sup>94</sup> Skānda (?).

<sup>95</sup> Mahopaniṣad (?).

<sup>96</sup> *nimitta-mātram īśasya viśva-sarga-nirodhayoḥ  
hiraṇyagarbhaḥ śarvaś ca kālasyārūpiṇas tava  
(Bhāgavata 10.71.8)*

The verse is spoken by Uddhava to Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>97</sup> The words *tava īśasya* (of you, the Lord) are not in agreement with the other genitives in the verse, namely, *kālasya arūpiṇaḥ* (of formless time). The Lord is not being identified with time. Rather, he possesses time, which is one of his śaktis, and time, in turn, possesses the instruments Brahmā and Śiva. Thus, *tava* is twice removed from the subject of the sentence, and so bears a different case-relation (*vyadhikaraṇa*) than *kālasya*.

the Supreme is the puruṣa. . . ."<sup>98</sup> And, "From whose portion there is the maintenance, birth, and destruction of this (world) . . ."<sup>99</sup> In this way, it has been described here that the one who has such a form is Bhagavān alone.

### Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.3–4: *Anvayād Itarataś Cārtheṣu*

#### *Explanation of "Śāstra-yonitvāt"*

Now, after ascertaining the Supreme by the definition *per accidens*, that feature is now established by the two sūtras of the Brahma-sūtra, "śāstra-yonitvāt" and "tat tu samanvayāt."<sup>100</sup> So, (here is) the meaning of the first sūtra: Why is Brahman the cause of the birth, etc., of the world? That is stated here: because he is one about whom scripture (śāstra) is the source (yoni) or cause of knowledge. That is to say scriptural passages such as "from whom these beings . . ."<sup>101</sup> are the means to prove him.<sup>102</sup> Tarka (logic) is not a proof in this regard, as is the case with other philosophical systems as well. "Tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt (because logic has no basis)."<sup>103</sup> The import is: since Brahman is not the object of any means of knowledge (pramāṇa) such as perception (pratyakṣa), because he is completely beyond the ken of the senses.<sup>104</sup>

The Buddhists will be refuted by logic itself in the second chapter of the Brahma-sūtra (avirodhādhyāya). Here, (we show that) logic has no basis: "The Lord is not the doer, because he has no purpose to be served, just like a liberated soul. The body, world, etc., have the jīva as their doer (creator), because they are effects, like a pot. Time—about which there are differences of opinion—is never devoid of the world,<sup>105</sup> because of its very nature of

<sup>98</sup> Bhāgavata 2.6.42.

<sup>99</sup> Bhāgavata 6.9.12. Yamarāja is speaking here of Viṣṇu, whom he mentions by name in subsequent verses.

<sup>100</sup> Brahma-sūtra 1.1.3–4.

<sup>101</sup> Taittirīya 3.1.1.

<sup>102</sup> Rāmānuja writes in his commentary on this sūtra:

śāstram yasya yoniḥ kāraṇam pramāṇam, tac chāstra-yoni. tasya bhāvaḥ śāstra-yonitvam. tasmād brahma-jñāna-kāraṇatvāc chāstrasya tad-yonitvam brahmaṇaḥ . . . śāstraiḥ pramāṇakatvād ukta-svarūpaṁ brahma, 'yato vā imāni bhūtāni' ity ādi-vākyam bodhayaty evety arthaḥ.

(1985: 285–286)

<sup>103</sup> Brahma-sūtra 2.1.11.

<sup>104</sup> Rāmānuja: atyantātindriyatvena pratyakṣādi-pramāṇāviśayatayā brahmaṇaḥ (1985: 286).

<sup>105</sup> That is, there was no time when the world did not exist.

being time, just like the present time,” and so on.<sup>106</sup> Thus, inferences about the Lord according to one philosophical system are refuted by another, opposing philosophical system.<sup>107</sup>

For this reason, the Greatest Person, the Lord of all, the supreme Brahman is proved only by scripture. The scriptures establish that he is different from all things which are known by any other means of knowledge (pramāṇa); that he is an ocean of limitless, abundant, immeasurable, noble and wonderful qualities, including knowing everything, having his purposes fulfilled, and so on; and that his form is opposed to all detestable things. He does not have even a hint of the defects that result from similarity to objects which are known by other pramāṇas.<sup>108</sup> In this way, it is established that he has a form which is eternal, unlimited, and of his own nature.

### *Explanation of “Tat Tu Samanvayāt”*

Now the meaning of the other sūtra (tat tu samanvayāt): How is Brahman proved by scripture? That is stated by “tat tu.” The word “tu” is for the purpose of removing the doubt raised earlier.<sup>109</sup> “Tat” indicates that Brahman can be proved by scripture. Why? Because of samanvaya. Establishing

<sup>106</sup> The above three sentences are part of an interesting section in the Śrībhāṣya. Although the point being made in each syllogism is acceptable to Rāmānuja, he nevertheless argues against them, simply to show that inference is not a valid means of gaining certain knowledge. Rāmānuja gives four inferences, but Jīva leaves out the third: “The Lord is not the doer, because he does not have a body, like them (the liberated souls).” Jīva has already shown that the Lord has a non-material form, and so he does not bring up the issue again here.

Jīva quotes Rāmānuja exactly, excluding the third syllogism:

tanu-bhuvanādi kṣetrajñā-kartṛkam, kāryatvāt. ghaṭavat. īśvaraḥ kartā na bhavati. prayojana-śūnyatvāt, muktātmavat. īśvaraḥ kartā na bhavati. aśarīratvāt. tadvad eva. na ca kṣetrajñānām sva-śarīrādhiṣṭhāne vyabhicāraḥ, tatrāpy anades sūkṣma-śarīrasya sad-bhāvāt. vimati-viśayaḥ kālo na loka-śūnyaḥ. kālātāt, vartamāna-kālavat iti.

(1985: 302)

Each statement has the structure of a Nyāya syllogism, containing the assertion (pratijñā), reason (hetu), and example (dṛṣṭānta), in that order.

<sup>107</sup> Rāmānuja deduces a slightly different moral from the exercise: “ato darśanānu-guṇyeneśvarānumānaṁ darśanānu-guṇya-parāhatam iti” (1985: 304). “Therefore, inferences about the Lord according to perception are rejected, in accordance with the very phenomenon of perception.” Prior to this, Rāmānuja had shown that our perception could both establish and contradict inferences about the Lord.

<sup>108</sup> The last three sentences are quoted from Rāmānuja (1985: 304–305).

<sup>109</sup> The “doubt raised earlier” in Rāmānuja’s commentary is: “yady api pramāṇāntarāgocaraṁ brahma tathāpi pravṛtti-nivṛtti-paratvābhāvena siddha-rūpaṁ brahma na śāstraṁ pratipādayatīti” (1985: 306). “Even though Brahman is not known by other means of proof, still, he is also not proven by scripture. He is already established, since he is not dependent

something by positive and negative concomitance (*anvaya* and *vyatireka*) is *samanvaya*.<sup>110</sup>

Here (are the statements showing) positive concomitance: "Brahman is truth, knowledge, infinity." "Brahman is bliss."<sup>111</sup> "Brahman is one alone, without a second."<sup>112</sup> "That is the truth. He is the Self."<sup>113</sup> "Son, this existence alone was in the beginning."<sup>114</sup> "Indeed, this Brahman alone was in the beginning."<sup>115</sup> "Indeed, this Self alone was in the beginning, in the form of the *puruṣa*."<sup>116</sup> "The *puruṣa* is indeed *Nārāyaṇa*."<sup>117</sup> "Indeed, *Nārāyaṇa* alone existed."<sup>118</sup> "It thought, 'Let me become many. Let me propagate.'<sup>119</sup> "Space was produced from this very Self."<sup>120</sup> "It created fire."<sup>121</sup> "From whom these beings are born . . ." "Nārāyaṇa, who is indeed the *puruṣa*, desired. Then, Aja (*Brahmā*) was born from *Nārāyaṇa*, from whom all living creatures (were born)."<sup>122</sup> "Nārāyaṇa is the supreme Brahman. *Nārāyaṇa* is the supreme reality."<sup>123</sup> "Righteousness, truth, the supreme Brahman is the blackish-brown *puruṣa*."<sup>124</sup> And so on.

Now, (the statements showing) negative concomitance: "How can the existent arise from the non-existent?"<sup>125</sup> "Who would breathe in, who would

on either activity or inactivity." According to the *Mīmāṃsakas*, scripture should deal with inducements to action or the cessation of action (to do or not to do a thing). But Brahman is an already existing entity, who neither has to be started nor ceased, and hence is beyond the scope of the scriptures.

<sup>110</sup> As non-technical terms, both *samanvaya* and *anvaya* can simply mean "logical connection," "consequence," or "purport." Thus, Rāmānuja takes *samanvaya* as synonymous with *anvaya*: "parama-puruṣārthatayānvayaḥ samanvayaḥ" (1985: 308). And later: "samanvayaḥ samyag-anvayaḥ puruṣārthatayā 'nvaya ity arthaḥ" (ibid.: 350), "Brahman is logically connected with the scriptures as the ultimate human end or the true purport they deal with."

Jīva, however, defines *samanvaya* in a technical sense, as the bipartite process of proof involving positive and negative concomitance (*anvaya* and *vyatireka*). Thus, all the Upaniṣadic passages that Rāmānuja quotes to show that Brahman is the purport (*samanvaya*) of scripture are cited by Jīva under the category of *anvaya*. Jīva then gives other statements under *vyatireka*. Together, these passages constitute *samanvaya*, or show that Brahman is the *samanvaya* of scripture.

<sup>111</sup> *Taittirīya* 3.6.1.

<sup>112</sup> *Chāndogya* 6.2.1.

<sup>113</sup> *Chāndogya* 6.8.7.

<sup>114</sup> *Chāndogya* 6.2.1.

<sup>115</sup> *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.4.10.

<sup>116</sup> *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.4.1.

<sup>117</sup> *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad* 1.

<sup>118</sup> *Mahopaniṣad* 1.1.

<sup>119</sup> *Chāndogya* 6.2.3.

<sup>120</sup> *Taittirīya* 2.1.3.

<sup>121</sup> *Chāndogya* 6.2.3.

<sup>122</sup> *Mahā-nārāyaṇopaniṣad* (?).

<sup>123</sup> *Mahā-nārāyaṇopaniṣad* 11.4.

<sup>124</sup> *Mahā-nārāyaṇopaniṣad* 12.1.

<sup>125</sup> *Chāndogya* 6.2.2.



breathe out, if that essence were not there in space as bliss?"<sup>126</sup> "Indeed, Nārāyaṇa alone existed—not Brahmā, and not Śaṅkara."<sup>127</sup> And so on.

The samanvaya of other statements is stated later in the Brahma-sūtra itself by such aphorisms as "ānanda-mayo 'bhyāsāt."<sup>128</sup> He (the ānanda-maya) is established by samanvaya due to having the form of highest bliss. Having ascertained this, (we also know that) this enquiry is not without purpose, since it is established that attaining him itself constitutes the supreme human goal.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, having settled the meaning of the two sūtras, we explain it by the phrase *anvayād itarataś cārtheṣu*. This is the meaning of the phrase: "By means of positive concomitance (*anvayāt*) among the various kinds of meanings (*artheṣu*) of the Vedic statements, it is known that the birth, etc., of this world (*janmādy asya*) take place from the One (*yataḥ*). Similarly, it is also known in another way (*itarataḥ*), namely, by means of negative concomitance." Therefore, it is suggested that he is the highest human goal,<sup>130</sup> since he is revealed by positive and negative concomitance of the śruti, and because he is the form of supreme bliss. By the evidence of scriptural statements such as, "Indeed, Nārāyaṇa alone existed," it has already been established that he has a form.

### Explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.5: *Abhijñāḥ Svarāt*

Now, "īkṣater nāśabdam"<sup>131</sup> is explained by *abhijñā*.<sup>132</sup> Here is the meaning of the sūtra: This is received in the Chāndogya, "Son, this existence alone was

<sup>126</sup> Taittirīya 2.7.1 (translation by Olivelle).

<sup>127</sup> Mahopaniṣad 1.1.

<sup>128</sup> "(Brahman is) 'ānanda-maya' (full of bliss), because (in the context) there is repetition (of various grades of bliss)" (Brahma-sūtra 1.1.12).

<sup>129</sup> Because bliss is the ultimate human goal, and Brahman is full of bliss, therefore Brahman is the highest human goal. Thus, inquiry into Brahman is not without purpose.

<sup>130</sup> Both Rāmānujācārya and Jīva Gosvāmī are concerned to establish Brahman (or Bhagavān) as the highest human goal because the Mīmāṃsakas allege that inquiry into Brahman is without purpose, since it does not deal with injunctions. See the discussion towards the end of Rāmānuja's commentary on this sūtra (1985: 350–351), or Rangacharya (1988: 247).

<sup>131</sup> Brahma-sūtra 1.1.5 "That which is not revealed (solely) by scripture is not (the cause of the world), because of the root 'īkṣ'." Rangacharya and Aiyangar give an expanded translation of the sūtra from a Viśiṣṭādvaita perspective. "Because the activity imported by the root *īkṣ* (to see, i.e., to think) is predicated (in relation to what constitutes the cause of the world), that which is not revealed solely by the scripture, viz., the *pradhāna* is not (the *Sat* or Existence which is referred to in the scriptural passage relating to the cause of the world)" (1988: xviii).

<sup>132</sup> Śrīdhara also connects *abhijñā* with Brahma-sūtra 1.1.5: "tarhi kiṁ pradhānam jagat-kāraṇatvād dhyeyam abhipretam. nety āha. abhijñā yas tam. . . . īkṣater nāśabdam iti nyāyā ca." "Then is the *pradhāna* the intended object of meditation. since it is the cause of the universe? No. The verse said, 'He (the object of meditation) is the one who is *abhijñā*.' And this is because of the rule 'īkṣater nāśabdam.'"

in the beginning, one without a second, Brahman." "It thought (aikṣata), 'Let me become many'. Let me propagate." "It created fire," and so on. Here, the sūtra says, "It is not the case that the material aggregate (pradhāna), which is spoken of by others,<sup>133</sup> becomes the cause of the universe."<sup>134</sup> Aśabda, or the pradhāna, is that regarding which scripture (śabda) is not the sole means of knowledge (pramāṇa), for it can be known by inference (anumāna).<sup>135</sup> That pradhāna is not the subject here (in the above Chāndogya passage describing the cause of the universe).<sup>136</sup>

Why is the pradhāna not known only by scripture? In answer to this doubt it is said, "because of the root īkṣ"—that is, in the Upaniṣadic passage, "tad aikṣata," the root īkṣ denotes a particular activity in relation to the referent of the word "sat." Thinking (īkṣaṇa) is not possible for the unconscious pradhāna. In other Upaniṣads also, thinking is referred to as always preceding creation. "He thought, 'Let me now create the worlds.' He created these worlds . . ." <sup>137</sup> Here, thinking includes the quality of omniscience, since thinking consists of deliberation on all that is to be created. This very fact is stated by the word *abhijñā*.

Objection: According to the statement, "one only, without a second," there was no instrument of thinking at the time of creation.<sup>138</sup> In answer to this, it is said, *svaṛāṭ*. One who shines by his essential nature in such ways is *svaṛāṭ*. In the śruti commencing with the statement, "it is known that he does not have a body or sense organs," we hear that "knowledge, strength and activity belong to his very nature . . ." <sup>139</sup> By this, we arrive at the conclusion that like thinking, form also belongs to his very nature. Also, it is going to be demonstrated later that the act of breathing is also in his nature. Thus, our interpretation is appropriate.

<sup>133</sup> The intended opponents here are the Sāṅkhya philosophers, who call the sum-total material nature "pradhāna." Rāmānuja makes this clear by including a reference to Kapila, the main propounder of Sāṅkhya: "jagat-kāraṇavādi-vākyena maharṣiṇā kapilenoktaṁ pradhānam eva pratipādyate."

<sup>134</sup> Rāmānuja puts this as a question: "tatra sandehaḥ – kiṁ sac-chabda-vācyam jagat-kāraṇam paroḥktaṁ anumānikam pradhānam, utokta-lakṣaṇam brahmeti" (1985: 411).

<sup>135</sup> There are three pramāṇas accepted as valid means of knowledge in Caitanyite theology—sense perception (pratyakṣa), inference (anumāna), and scriptural revelation (śabda). See Jīva Gosvāmī's analysis of the different pramāṇas in Chapter 1 of the *Sarva-saṁvādinī*.

<sup>136</sup> Rāmānuja: yasmin śabda eva pramāṇam na bhavati tad aśabdam anumānikam pradhānam ity arthaḥ. na taj jagat-kāraṇatvādi-vākyā-pratipādyam.

(413)

<sup>137</sup> Aitareya 1.1.1–2. The above paragraph follows Rāmānuja very closely (1985: 414).

<sup>138</sup> Since Brahman was all that existed, there was no mind to think with. This objection seems to be original to Jīva Gosvāmī. Jīva's answer is that Brahman does require a separate instrument of thinking. Like all his activities, Brahman's thinking is essential to him.

<sup>139</sup> Śvetāśvatara 6.8.

**Another explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.3: *Tene Brahma* . . .**

Now, we offer an alternate meaning of “śāstra-yonitvāt” by the word *tene* (imparted). The alternate meaning is like this: Why is he (Brahman) the agent of the birth, etc., of the universe? Why not the material aggregate (pradhāna), which is spoken of by other systems, or why not something else? In reply, it is said: because he has a form that is the cause or source (yoni) of the scriptures (śāstra) called the Vedas.<sup>140</sup> From the śruti: “Thus, indeed, the Ṛg-veda, Yajur-veda, Sāma-veda, Atharva-Aṅgiras,<sup>141</sup> the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, the sciences, Upaniṣads, verses, aphorisms, explanations, and glosses—all this is the breath of this Great Being.”<sup>142</sup> Scripture consists of varieties of unlimited knowledge that is inaccessible to all (other) pramāṇas, and its cause is heard to be Brahman alone. Thus, without the chief omniscient being and without such omniscience, the creation of everything by someone else is not possible. So Brahman alone, who possesses the characteristics we have described, is the cause of the universe—not pradhāna, and not any other jīva.<sup>143</sup>

This very point is explained by *tene brahma hṛdā ya ādikavaye*. He revealed (*tene*) the Veda (*brahma*) to Brahmā, the first sage (*ādi-kavaye*), through the mind or heart (*hṛdā*) only, not through speech. Here, the word *brahma*, which signifies greatness, reminds us that he (who revealed it) is full of all knowledge. The word *hṛdā* reminds us that he is the inner controller and he possesses all śaktis. *Ādi-kavaye* reminds us that because he is the source of instruction even to Brahmā, he is the source of scripture. And here is the śruti: “Desiring liberation, I seek refuge in that God who previously created Brahmā, who imparted the Vedas to him, and who is manifest to one who has knowledge of the self.”<sup>144</sup>

“The liberated jīvas are also not the cause of creation,” he says by the word *muhyanti*. “Even the *sūris*, such as Śeṣa and others are bewildered regarding the *brahma*, which is called Veda.”<sup>145</sup>—this denotes only Śrī

<sup>140</sup> Rāmānuja interprets “śāstra-yoni” as a bahuvrīhi possessive compound—“one who has scripture as the source (of knowledge about him).” Śaṅkara offers a second interpretation of śāstra-yoni as a genitive tat-puruṣa—“the source of scripture”—which is how Jīva reads it here. Madhva, however, argues against this interpretation because it makes the sūtra irrelevant to the context. For an overview of the debate surrounding the compound, see Sharma (1986: 81–83).

<sup>141</sup> According to the Bhāgavata (1.4.22), when the original Veda was divided into four, the sage Aṅgīrā became the master of the Atharva-veda tradition.

<sup>142</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka 2.4.10.

<sup>143</sup> In other words, Brahman’s being the source of scripture entails that he is also the source of the universe.

<sup>144</sup> Śvetāśvatara 6.18.

<sup>145</sup> Here, Jīva Gosvāmī glosses *sūri* in accordance with Śrīvaiṣṇava usage, where the word applies specifically to the ever-liberated souls (mukta-jīvas). In a non-technical sense, *sūri* can refer to a god or great sage.

Bhagavān, who is the original form (ādi-mūrti), who has a navel-lotus, who is capable of creating Brahmā and others, and who possesses the Vedas, which consist of his breathing, manifested during his pastime of sleep. This is described by the verse, "He who inspired the Vedic knowledge in the beginning . . ." <sup>146</sup>

### Another explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.4: *Muhyanti Yat Sūrayaḥ*

Now the alternate meaning of the sūtra "tat tu samanvayāt." Even as there is a reason in stating that the Lord is the source of the scripture, so there is another reason—it is said, "tat tu samanvayāt." Samanvaya here is the thorough knowledge of the meaning of the Veda, that is, proficiency in analyzing (the meaning) completely and in every way. Because of this (yasmāt), one determines that (tat tu) Brahman is the source of scripture. <sup>147</sup>

Perfect knowledge is not present in the jīva, and the pradhāna is unconscious. <sup>148</sup> This is the meaning. In the *śruti*: "He knows everything. No one knows him." <sup>149</sup> Brahman has that complete knowledge—in order to drive home this point by the negative method (vyatireka), the Bhāgavata speaks of the absence of that complete knowledge in all the jīvas: *muhyanti*. Even the *sūris*, such as Śeṣa and others, are bewildered (*muhyanti*) regarding that (*yat*), namely, Brahman who is the Veda. This very point is explained by Bhagavān himself, "What does it enjoin? What does it indicate? What options does it prescribe, after discussing it in different ways? No one in the world other than I knows the secret of these (Vedic texts)." <sup>150</sup> This verse directly refers to Bhagavān alone.

<sup>146</sup> pracoditā yena purā sarasvatī  
vitanvatājasya satīm smṛtīm hṛdi  
sva-lakṣaṇā prādurabhūt kilāsyataḥ  
sa me ṛṣṇām ṛṣabhāḥ prasīdatām

May the best of sages be pleased with me. In the beginning, he inspired Vedic knowledge about himself in Brahmā's heart. This knowledge filled Brahmā's faithful memory, and appeared, indeed, from his mouth.

(Bhāgavata 2.4.22)

Śrīdhara Svāmī takes this verse as indicating that the Gāyatrī was conveyed to Brahmā through the heart. Therefore, the phrase *tene hṛdā* in the Bhāgavata is seen as a reference to the Gāyatrī.

<sup>147</sup> This alternate interpretation of tat tu samanvayāt is drawn from Madhva, who glosses samanvaya as samyag-anvaya—comprehensive knowledge of the entire range of scriptural texts.

<sup>148</sup> Therefore, only Brahman can know the complete meaning of the Veda.

<sup>149</sup> Śvetāśvatara 3.19.

<sup>150</sup> Bhāgavata 11.21.42.



### Another explanation of Brahma-sūtra 1.1.5: *Abhijñāḥ Svarāt*

Now, the alternate meaning of “īkṣater nāśabdām” has been clearly revealed by the word *abhijñā* itself. Here is the meaning of the sūtra: One may ask, “Since the śruti says ‘(Brahman is) without words (aśabda), without touch, without form, imperishable,’<sup>151</sup> how can Brahman have scripture (śabda) as the source of knowledge about himself?” This is answered: In this context, Brahman is not without words (nāśabdām). Why? Because of īkṣ: “It thought, ‘Let me become many. Let me procreate.’” According to the śruti, the root īkṣ here consists of words such as “let me become many”<sup>152</sup> This very fact is stated by *abhijñā*.<sup>153</sup> He is skillful in deliberation that consists of words like “let me become many.” And his collection of energies, including words, is not material, because it existed even before the agitation of material nature (prakṛti). Indeed, it is of his own nature. This is stated by *svarāt*.

It is established here that he possesses a form and qualities like those we described before. So states the respected author of the sūtras, “antas tad-dharmopadeśāt.”<sup>154</sup> Therefore, Brahman’s being without words, etc., should be understood to mean that he is without material words, etc.

### The meaning of the entire Brahma-sūtra

Even the meanings of the four chapters of the Uttara-mīmāṃsā (Brahma-sūtra) are revealed here (in the first verse of the Bhāgavata). *Anvayād itarataś ca* here gives the meaning of the Samanvaya chapter,<sup>155</sup> *muhyanti yat sūrayaḥ*

<sup>151</sup> Kāṭha 3.15.

<sup>152</sup> This interpretation of īkṣater nāśabdām is based upon Madhva, who reads the sūtra as, “Brahman is not beyond words (aśabdām), because of the root īkṣ.” Madhva does not, however, accept “tad aikṣata bahu syām” as the Upaniṣadic passage being discussed (viśaya-vākya). Rather, he glosses īkṣateḥ as īkṣanīyatvāt, “because Brahman is an object of knowledge,” as in the Upaniṣadic statement, “puruṣam īkṣate” (Praśna 5).

<sup>153</sup> Earlier, *abhijñā* was taken in the sense of sarvajñā, “all-knowing.” Here, it is glossed as vidagdha, “skillful, clever.”

<sup>154</sup> Brahma-sūtra 1.1.20. “The one within (the sun and the eye is Brahman), because his qualities are taught.” This sūtra makes reference to the Chāndogya passages 1.6.6–8 and 1.7.1–5, wherein the puruṣa is described as residing within the sun and within the eyes. He is completely golden, from his hair to his toenails, he has lotus-like eyes, and he is above all sin.

<sup>155</sup> The connection here is clear: The first chapter of the Brahma-sūtra shows that the consistent purport of the Vedāntic texts is Brahman. The phrase *anvayād itarataś ca* names anvaya and vyatireka as the means of reaching this harmonious conclusion.

of the Avirodha chapter,<sup>156</sup> *dhīmahi* of the Sādhana chapter,<sup>157</sup> and *satyaṁ param* of the Phala chapter.<sup>158</sup>

### The meaning of the Gāyatrī

In the same way, the meaning of the Gāyatrī is also clear. In the verse, the phrase *janmādy asya yataḥ* is the meaning of the praṇava (oṁkāra), because it denotes Brahman's possessing the energies of creation, etc.<sup>159</sup> So it is said in the commentary on the Gāyatrī in the Agni Purāṇa, "That light is Bhagavān Viṣṇu, the cause of the birth, etc., of the universe."<sup>160</sup> *Yatra trisargo 'mṛṣā* is the meaning of the three vyāhṛtis.<sup>161</sup> The intention in both places (*janmādy asya yataḥ* and *yatra trisargo 'mṛṣā*) is to convey the idea that the three worlds are non-different from that (tat, Brahman). *Svarāṭ* denotes the supreme splendor that illuminates the sun (savitr). *Tene brahma hṛdā* indicates a prayer for inspiring the activity of the intelligence. "Out of compassion, may he inspire the activities of our intelligence toward meditation upon him."<sup>162</sup> Thus, it is said, "Commencement takes place with the Gāyatrī."<sup>163</sup> And that splendor which is mentioned in the Gāyatrī, and confirmed by "antas tad-dharmopadeśāt," and which possesses a primeval and infinite form, should alone be the object of meditation. So also, we have the statements of the Agni Purāṇa, in order:

<sup>156</sup> The second chapter, Avirodha or "non-conflict," deals with possible objections to Vedānta metaphysics. The phrase *muhyaṁti yat sūrayaḥ* makes it clear that objections arise simply from the fact that everyone, including the ever-liberated souls, is bewildered about Brahman.

<sup>157</sup> The third chapter of the Brahma-sūtra discusses the means of attaining mokṣa. The Bhāgavata specifies this as meditation.

<sup>158</sup> *Satyaṁ param* specifies the goal or result (phala) of meditation, namely, attaining the Supreme Truth.

<sup>159</sup> The whole world is said to come from Brahman in the form of oṁkāra, and oṁkāra constitutes the world. As the Māṇḍūkya puts it, "OM—this whole world is that syllable! . . . The past, the present, and the future—all that is simply OM; and whatever else that is beyond the three times, that also is simply OM—for this *brahman* is the Whole" (1-2, translation by Olivelle).

<sup>160</sup> 216.7.

<sup>161</sup> The three vyāhṛtis comprise the invocatory phrase, "bhūḥ bhuvaḥ svaḥ," which names the *trisarga*, or three realms of the universe.

<sup>162</sup> Thus, *tene brahma hṛdā* explains "dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt" in the Gāyatrī

<sup>163</sup> This is a line from a verse quoted by Śrīdhara Svāmī from an unnamed Purāṇa. It describes the Bhāgavata as the book which contains 18,000 verses and begins with the Gāyatrī: "yatra . . . gāyatrī ca samārambhaḥ."

Thus, after performing the rites prescribed for the junctures of the day, one should chant and remember the Gāyatrī, which is the metrical form of the ukthas (a type of recited verse), the scriptures, splendor (bharga), and the life-airs (prāṇa).

His Gāyatrī is called Sāvitrī because she illuminates the sun (savitr). She is called Sarasvatī because she has the form of speech (vāc). The supreme Brahman is called Bhargas because he is that light or splendor. That which shines is bharga. This is stated by many Vedic hymns.

Vareṇyam is what is superior to all splendor, namely, the supreme abode.

Indeed, it is always desirable, both for those who want heaven and for those who want liberation.

It is devoid of the waking, sleeping, and other states of consciousness. The root vrñ has the sense of "choosing" (varaṇam).

Thinking "I am Brahman," for liberation we should meditate on the supreme light, the eternally pure, enlightened, single, eternal splendor (bharga), the supreme master.

That light is Bhagavān Viṣṇu, the cause of the birth, etc., of the universe.

Some declared it to be Śiva, some the form of Śakti, some Sūrya, some Agni, and some—the agnihotrīs—declare it to be the Daivatas. Indeed, Viṣṇu assumes the form of Agni and the others. He is praised at the beginning of the Vedas as Brahman.

The supreme abode of Viṣṇu, who is God (deva) Savitr, is called "tat."

"Dhīmahi," from the root "dhā," means, "Let us carry it with the mind."

May that splendor (bhargas)—namely, Viṣṇu, who has the form of Sūrya and Agni—inspire (codayāt) the intelligence (dhī) of us (naḥ)—all the living entities, who are experiencing the seen and unseen results of all our activities. Directed by the Lord, one goes either to heaven or hell.

This entire universe, beginning with unmanifest matter (mahat), is possessed by the Lord. Hari, God, the pure puruṣa and master, plays by creating, etc.

Through meditation, this puruṣa should be seen in the orb of the sun.

That supreme abode of God Viṣṇu, Savitr, is true, vast, and always auspicious. Indeed, it is the desirable fourth state.

That puruṣa who is Āditya (the sun god), who always induces people's good actions, etc.—I am he, the most excellent.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Agni Purāṇa 216.1–18.

"That text which is based on the Gāyatrī, which describes all the details of dharma, and which is drenched with the killing of Vṛtrāsura is called the Bhāgavata."<sup>165</sup> "And so on.

Therefore, because the words "bhargas," "Brahman," "para," Viṣṇu," and "Bhagavān" are all of the same category, wherever they are used in these verses, they should be understood to refer to Bhagavān. Here and there, ahaṁgrahopāsana (meditation of the form "I am Brahman") is enjoined. This is due to the reason that one becomes qualified to worship the Lord only when one has attained some similarity to him.<sup>166</sup>

### The meaning of the entire Purāṇa

Similarly, the meanings of the ten characteristics (of a Purāṇa) can also be seen here (in the first verse of the Bhāgavata).<sup>167</sup> Thus, "creation," "secondary

<sup>165</sup> Agni Purāṇa 272.6. In his commentary on the Bhāgavata's first verse, Śrīdhara Svāmī credits this verse to the Matsya Purāṇa, and cites the subsequent verse as well. He also quotes verses from the Padma Purāṇa and "another Purāṇa" describing the chief characteristics of the Bhāgavata, such as its relation to the Gāyatrī.

<sup>166</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī gives more explanation of the Agni Purāṇa verses in the Tattva-sandarbhā, anuccheda 22. See also my discussion of this passage in the first section of this chapter.

<sup>167</sup> Usually, a Purāṇa is said to deal with five topics, which are listed in a verse found in several Purāṇas:

sargaś ca pratisargaś ca varṇśo manvantarāṇi ca  
varṇśānucaritaṁ ceti purāṇaṁ pañca-lakṣaṇam

A Purāṇa has five characteristics: creation, secondary creation, dynasties, the reigns of the Manus, and the activities of the dynasties.

The Bhāgavata, however, gives ten characteristics of a Purāṇa:

atra sargo visargaś ca sthānaṁ poṣaṇam ūtayaḥ  
manvantareśānukathā nirodho muktir āśrayaḥ

Here are the creation, secondary creation, planetary region (or maintenance), nourishment, impetuses, the reigns of the Manus, systematic narrations of the Lord (or kings), destruction, liberation, and shelter.

(2.10.1)

The list is repeated in the twelfth book, with slight variations. The Bhāgavata there acknowledges the shorter list of five topics, and suggests that lesser Purāṇas deal with fewer topics:

daśabhir lakṣaṇair yuktaṁ purāṇaṁ tad-vido viduḥ  
kecit pañca-vidhaṁ brahman mahad-alpa-vyavasthayaḥ

O Brāhmaṇa! Those who are learned in this matter know that a Purāṇa possesses ten characteristics. Some say that there are five types, based on a difference of elaboration or brevity.

(12.7.10)



creation,” “maintenance (sthāna),” and “destruction” can be seen in *janmādy asya yataḥ*. “Manvantara” and “activities of the Lord” are included in “maintenance.” “Nourishment” can be seen in *tene*, etc., and “impetus,” in *muhyanti*, etc. Since “liberation” is the jīvas’ closeness to the Lord—which suggests the destruction of illusion—it can be seen in *dhāmnā*, etc. “Shelter” can be seen in *satyaṁ param*, etc. And that shelter is Śrī Kṛṣṇa, because it has been settled that he is directly Bhagavān. This is clear by the method described earlier.

Thus, it is evident that the object of meditation in all the imports of the words and sentences in the opening statement (upakrama-vākya) possesses qualities, form and the configuration of Śrī Bhagavān. This is but appropriate, for it is also evident from another statement about his essential nature (svarūpa): “One should meditate upon the fearless Hari, who watches over this universe in its beginning, middle, and end, who is the ruler of the jīvas and the unmanifested material nature, who creates this universe, first enters it with the intelligent one (the jīva), makes the bodies, and regulates them, who has banished material birth by his purity, and after attaining whom the devoted soul gives up beginningless illusion (ajā), just as a sleeping person forgets his the body.”<sup>168</sup>

Therefore, also in the next statement (of the Bhāgavata)—“dharmaḥ projjhita<sup>169</sup> . . .”—the words “what is the use of others?,” etc., show that that the purport (of the Bhāgavata) is the Lord himself.<sup>170</sup>

### The concluding statement

Similarly, the concluding statement (upasaṁhāra) cannot be ignored, because the meaning of the opening statement is dependent upon the concluding

<sup>168</sup> Bhāgavata 10.87.50. Śrīdhara Svāmī says that “ṛṣi” (sage) here refers to the jīva.

<sup>169</sup> dharmaḥ projjhita-kaitavo 'tra paramo nirmatsarāṇām satām  
vedyaṁ vāstavam atra vastu śivadaṁ tāpa-trayonmūlanam  
śrīmad-bhāgavate mahā-muni-kṛte kiṁ vā parair īśvaraḥ  
sadyo hṛdy avarudhyate 'tra kṛtibhiḥ śūsṛṣubhis tat-kṣaṇāt

The highest dharma, free from deceit, of good persons who are without envy, is found here in the Śrīmad-bhāgavata, which was composed by the great sage. The subject matter to be known here is genuine and it grants welfare, destroying the three miseries. What is the use of other books? Those pious people who desire to hear this Bhāgavata immediately and at once capture the Lord in the heart.

(1.1.2)

<sup>170</sup> In this and the previous paragraph, Jīva returns to the larger purpose of his commentary, namely, to show that Bhagavān is the subject of the entire Bhāgavata. He concludes here his discussion of the opening statement (upakrama), and proceeds to the conclusion (upasaṁhāra). Together, the two constitute the first indicator (tātparya-liṅga) for determining the import of a text.

statement.<sup>171</sup> The verse *kasmai yena vibhāsito 'yam*<sup>172</sup> shows that the Lord possesses such distinctions, etc., (as described earlier). In the second interpretation of "ātma-grhīti itaravad uttarāt"<sup>173</sup> found in Śaṅkara's *Brahma-sūtra* commentary, the referent of the word "sat," mentioned in the opening statement, is understood to be the ātmā, because the word "ātmā" is present in the concluding statement. In the same way, here also the speaker of the four-verse *Bhāgavata*<sup>174</sup> is understood to be Bhagavān, and he who is revealed in the trance of Śrī Vyāsa is alone understood to be the object of meditation.<sup>175</sup> And this same Bhagavān was sought by the heart of Śrī Śuka: "Filled

<sup>171</sup> Which of the two dominates is a matter of debate among Vedāntins. According to Madhva, the indicators of meaning are listed in ascending order of strength. The concluding statement should be taken more seriously than the opening statement, which may be reinterpreted in light of the concluding statement. (Sharma, 1986: 85). Advaitins argue, however, for upakrama-parākrama, namely, the precedence of opening statement over the conclusion. (Murty 1959: 84–85).

<sup>172</sup> *Bhāgavata* 12.13.19, the concluding verse.

<sup>173</sup> *Brahma-sūtra* 3.3.16. For a translation of the sūtra, see the footnote after the next one.

<sup>174</sup> The four-verse *Bhāgavata* is the essential teaching spoken by Viṣṇu to Brahmā at the dawn of creation (2.9.33–36).

<sup>175</sup> Jīva Gosvāmī brings up Śaṅkara's commentary here in order to make use of his interpretive strategy; Śaṅkara's actual thesis is irrelevant to Jīva's present concern, which is to show that primary subject matter of the *Bhāgavata* is Bhagavān.

Śaṅkara offers two distinct interpretations of *Brahma-sūtra* 3.3.16, depending on which Upaniṣadic passage is chosen as the subject of discussion (viśaya-vākya) for this sūtra. In his second interpretation, Śaṅkara takes the *Chāndogya* statement, "sad eva saumyedaṁ agra āsīd" (6.2.1) as the viśaya-vākya, so that the meaning of the sūtra becomes "The Self is to be understood (in the *Chāndogya* Upaniṣad) just as in the other (*Brhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣad), because of the subsequent (instruction about identity)." (Gambhirananda 671).

The issue at stake is whether the word "sat" in the *Chāndogya* passage refers to the same entity as the word "ātman" in the *Brhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣad (4.4.25), "sa vā eṣa mahān aja ātmā." Śaṅkara argues that it does, because of the identification made later in the *Chāndogya* (6.8.7): "tat tvam asi," "You are that" or, in other words, "the ātmā is the sat."

Thus, Śaṅkara has used a later statement of the *Chāndogya* to interpret an earlier one, by allowing the referent of the latter (ātmā) to determine the referent of the former (sat). Jīva builds his argument on the same lines: The *Bhāgavata* concludes with the identification, "kasmai yena vibhāsitaḥ ayam . . . taṁ satyaṁ param"—"he who illumined this knowledge to Brahmā is the Supreme Truth." It is already known (from previous discussion) that satyaṁ param refers to Bhagavān. Therefore, it can be concluded that the one who spoke the four essential verses to Brahmā, found earlier in the text, is Bhagavān—the same person referred to here at the end. Thus, applying the Vedāntic exegetical principle, the referent of a later passage may be taken to determine the referent of the earlier passage, due to a statement of identity in the later passage.

Similarly, the person who was perceived by Vyāsa in trance is the object of meditation, Bhagavān, because of another identification made here, "yena (nārada-rūpiṇā) kṛṣṇāya vibhāsitaḥ ayam . . . taṁ satyaṁ param dhīmahi"—"Let us meditate on the Supreme Truth who illumined this knowledge to Vyāsa (through the medium of Nārada)."

with his own happiness . . .”<sup>176</sup> (Thus ends the explanation of the first verse of the Bhāgavata, written by) Śrī Vyāsa.

Now, this is the meaning of the concluding statement:<sup>177</sup> Long ago (*purā*), at the beginning of the previous parārdha,<sup>178</sup> this (*ayam*) Bhāgavata was illumined or revealed (*vibhāsitaḥ*) to Brahmā (*kasmai*), who was situated on the navel-lotus of the Garbhodakaśāyī Puruṣa, by Bhagavān (*yena*) who possesses a beautiful form, etc., like that described in the second book (of the Bhāgavata),<sup>179</sup> and who showed Brahmā the great Vaikuṇṭha at the very place (where he was situated, i.e., on the lotus). *Tad-rūpeṇa* means “through Brahmā.” *Tad-rūpiṇā* means “through Śrī Nārada.” *Yogīndra* is Śrī Śuka. *Tad-ātmanā* means “through Śrī Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana (Vyāsa).” *Tad-ātmanā* is also connected with what comes after it. In that case, *tadātmanā* should be understood as “through Śrī Śuka.”<sup>180</sup> By the three words, *tad-rūpeṇa*, *tad-rūpiṇā*,

<sup>176</sup> *sva-sukha-nibhṛta-cetās tad-vyudastānya-bhāvo*  
'py ajita-rucira-līlākṛṣṭa-sāras tadyam  
vyatanuta kṛpayā yas tattva-dīpaṁ purāṇam  
tam akhila-vṛjinaghaṇam vyāsa-sūnum nato 'smi

Śukadeva's consciousness was filled with his own happiness, because he had abandoned feelings for anything else. Still, his heart was attracted by the beautiful pastimes of Ajita, the unconquered. I bow down to Vyāsa's son, the destroyer of all evil, who mercifully revealed the Purāṇa that is the lamp of truth about him (the Lord).

(Bhāgavata 12.12.69)

<sup>177</sup> We repeat the verse here for reference with the explanation:

*kasmai yena vibhāsita 'yam atulo jñāna-pradīpaḥ purā*  
*tad-rūpeṇa ca nāradaḥ munaye kṛṣṇāya tadrūpiṇā*  
*yogīndrāya tad-ātmanātha bhagavad-rātāya kārūnyatas*  
*tac chuddhaṁ vimalaṁ viśokam amṛtaṁ satyaṁ paraṁ dhīmahi*

Let us meditate upon the pure, spotless, sorrowless, immortal, Supreme Truth, who out of compassion illumined this unparalleled lamp of knowledge to Ka long ago. Through that form (Ka), he gave it to Nārada, and through him to Kṛṣṇamuni, and through him to Yogīndra, and through him to Bhagavadrāta.

<sup>178</sup> A parārdha is the number of human years equivalent to fifty years of Brahmā's time. We are currently living in the second half of Brahmā's life, so the “beginning of the previous parārdha” would mean the very beginning of the creation.

<sup>179</sup> Reference is made here to the ninth chapter of the second book, wherein we find the four essential verses of the Bhāgavata that were spoken to Brahmā by Bhagavān. Leading up to these verses, Śukadeva describes Brahmā's birth from the lotus that sprouts from the puruṣa's navel, Brahmā's search for the lotus's origin, his performance of penance for a thousand celestial years, and his vision of Bhagavān and his consort Śrī, surrounded by their devotees in Vaikuṇṭha. Verse sixteen describes Bhagavān as having a four-handed form, with smiling face, reddish eyes, yellow garments, and the mark of Śrīvatsa.

<sup>180</sup> Jīva here uses *dehālī-dīpa-nyāya*, the logic of the lamp on the threshold. Just as a lamp on the threshold of a room illumines both the inside and outside, so a word may qualify both what precedes it and what follows it. In the verse here, we are short of one pronominal



and *tad-ātmanā*, it is made clear that not only the four verses, but rather the entire Purāṇa was revealed by Bhagavān, who entered each one of those individuals.<sup>181</sup> And although out of humility Śrī Sūta did not say, "through me to all of you," this remaining statement should be understood here. Thus the glory of all the preceptors of the Bhāgavata is shown. The origin of the Śaṅkarāṇa Sampradāya, being included within the revelation of the author Śrī Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana, is not stated separately.<sup>182</sup>

Let us meditate (*dhīmaḥi*) on that supreme truth (*param satyam*), the reality called Bhagavān.<sup>183</sup> The word *para* denotes only Bhagavān, due to (the statement of) the Sahasra-nāma-stotra, "That which is supreme (*para*) and unsurpassed,"<sup>184</sup> and the second book of the Bhāgavata, "The first descent of the Supreme (*para*) is the *puruṣa*."<sup>185</sup> Because the Gāyatrī is named as the inspirer of the activity of Brahmā's intelligence, the word *dhīmaḥi* includes the meaning of the (entire) Gāyatrī. Thus, concluding as it began—with the Gāyatrī word *dhīmaḥi*—the Bhāgavata shows us that this book is the meaning of the Gāyatrī.<sup>186</sup> This is stated, "That (Bhāgavata) forms a commentary on the Gāyatrī, and it conclusively settles the meaning of the Mahābhārata."<sup>187</sup> (Thus ends the explanation of the concluding verse of the Bhāgavata, spoken by) Śrī Sūta.

compound "tad-" and so the word "tad-ātmanā" is taken in apposition to both "kṛṣṇāya" and "yogīndrāya." Śrīdhara Svāmī does not argue for a double meaning, but simply supplies another "tad-rūpiṇā" to stand for Vyāsa and glosses "tad-ātmanā" as just "śuka-rūpeṇa," "through Śuka."

<sup>181</sup> One could argue that since Bhagavān spoke only four nutshell verses to Brahmā, the rest of the Purāṇa is a creation of the subsequent reciters. Jīva allays this doubt by reminding us that the only agent in the verse is Bhagavān, who repeatedly recites the Purāṇa "through the form of" Brahmā, Nārada, *et al.* These reciters must be considered empowered by Bhagavān and their words authoritative.

<sup>182</sup> The meaning of this sentence is unclear to me. Śyāmdās translates it (into Hindi) thus: "In the Śaṅkarāṇa Sampradāya (Rāmānuja Sampradāya), there is the view that the Bhāgavata appeared from the mouth of Śrī Śaṅkarāṇa. But their Bhāgavata is included within the Bhāgavata revealed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. Therefore, there is no need to describe that separately." (215). I have not, however, come across any other reference to Rāmānuja's tradition as the Śaṅkarāṇa Sampradāya, nor do I know how it is included within Vyāsa's Bhāgavata.

<sup>183</sup> This sentence mirrors Śrīdhara Svāmī: "tat param satyam śrī-nārāyaṇākhyam tattvaṁ dhīmaḥi." Jīva glosses *satyam param* as Bhagavān instead of Nārāyaṇa.

<sup>184</sup> Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra, verse 78. "Para" is name number 738.

<sup>185</sup> Bhāgavata 2.6.42. This statement precludes the possibility that the word "para" may refer to the Puruṣas or any other divinities less than them. "Para" must therefore denote only Bhagavān.

<sup>186</sup> Jīva follows Śrīdhara Svāmī: "iti gāyatrīyaiva yathopakramam upasamharan gāyatrīākhyā-brahma-vidyeyam iti darśayati." "Thus, concluding as it began—with the Gāyatrī—it reveals this Vedic (or sacred) knowledge called 'Gāyatrī.'"

<sup>187</sup> Garuḍa Purāṇa (?), quoted in Madhva's Bhāgavata-lāṭparya-nirṇaya 1.1.1. In order to show that the import of the Mahābhārata is Bhagavān, Jīva quotes a passage in the Tattva-sandarbhā (21) from the Mahābhārata which describes the text as "nārāyaṇa-kathāśrayam," "the abode of narratives about Nārāyaṇa" (Mokṣa-dharma 170.14).



### Repetition and novelty—the second and third indicators

Now, by repetition (*abhyāsa*): “Bhagavān Hari, the Lord of all, who drives away Kali’s multitude of impurities and who possesses a perfect form, is not repeatedly praised elsewhere, but here he is described in detail in every word by the use of narratives.”<sup>188</sup>

One who drives away (*kālanah*) means the destroyer. Elsewhere, in other scriptures which teach karma and Brahman—the Lord of all, the inner controller of the aggregate material bodies, Nārāyaṇa—or his protector Viṣṇu—is not sung, or he may be sung in some places, but even in those places he is not sung constantly. The word *tu* has the sense of specification.<sup>189</sup> Śrī Bhagavān himself, however, is constantly sung here (*iha*) in the Śrī Bhāgavata. Or Nārāyaṇa and others are described here, but they are described as perfect forms (*aśeṣa-mūrti*) or descents (*avatāra*) of him. Bhagavān, who has such characteristics, is sung here, not—as in other places—indiscriminately.<sup>190</sup> By the use of different narratives, Bhagavān is pointed to in every word (*anupadam*) and is described (*paṭhita*) from all perspectives (*pari*), or in other words, he is stated clearly.

This (verse) also explains novelty (*apūrvatā*), because it is not obtained elsewhere.<sup>191</sup> (Thus ends the explanation of the repetition and novelty verse of the Bhāgavata, spoken by) Śrī Sūta.

### Result—the fourth indicator

Now, by the result (*phala*): “Those who drink the nectar of the stories of Bhagavān, the soul of good people, and whose earholes are filled with that nectar, purify the mind, which is polluted by sense-objects, and go near his lotus feet.”<sup>192</sup> “The soul of good people” means “the lord of their lives.” Or else, it is a *vyadhikaraṇa* *ṣaṣṭhī*—“of that Bhagavān who is the property

<sup>188</sup> kali-mala-saṁhati-kālano 'khileśo  
harir itaratra na gīyate hy abhīkṣṇam  
iha tu punar bhagavān aśeṣa-mūrtiḥ  
paripaṭhito 'nupadam kathā-prasaṅgaiḥ  
(Bhāgavata 12.12.66)

<sup>189</sup> By expressing contrast, “*tu*” points out that this special quality of the Bhāgavata, namely that it constantly describes Bhagavān, is found in the Bhāgavata alone.

<sup>190</sup> Even when the Bhāgavata Purāṇa describes divinities other than the original Bhagavān himself (i.e., Kṛṣṇa), it does so by putting them in proper relation to him, instead of uncritically equating them, as other scriptures may do.

<sup>191</sup> The verse states: “*harir itaratra na gīyate hy abhīkṣṇam*,” “Hari is not sung constantly elsewhere.” This tells us the unique or unprecedented quality of the Bhāgavata, which is the same as the *abhyāsa*, that is, constant and comprehensive glorification of Bhagavān.

<sup>192</sup> pibanti ye bhagavata ātmanaḥ salāṁ  
kathāmṛtaṁ śravaṇa-puteṣu sambhṛtam

(*ātman*) of good people," because of their feeling of possessiveness in relation to him, since he is their master.<sup>193</sup> The nectarean narration that is being commenced, namely, the Śrī Bhāgavata, is alone of primary importance.<sup>194</sup> It is similarly said: "Indeed, when it is heard . . ." <sup>195</sup> (Thus ends the explanation of the result-verse of the Bhāgavata, spoken by) Śrī Śuka.

### The statement of praise—the fifth indicator

Now, by the statement of praise (arthavāda): "He whom Brahmā, Varuṇa, Indra, Rudra and the Maruts praise with divine prayers; about whom the Sāma-chanters sing using Vedic hymns along with the subordinate divisions, progressive recitations, and Upaniṣads; whom the yogīs see with a mind that is fixed in meditation upon him; whose limit the hosts of gods and demons do not know; to that Lord I bow down."<sup>196</sup> They praise with prayers and Vedic hymns. *Stunvanti* is the same as "stuvanti." (The yogīs see him) with a mind that is fixed (*avasthitam*) and focussed on him through meditation (*dhyānena*).<sup>197</sup> (Thus ends the explanation of the commendatory verse of the Bhāgavata, spoken by) Śrī Sūta.

punanti te vidūṣitāśayaṁ  
vrajanti tac-caraṇa-saroruhāntikam  
(Bhāgavata 2.2.37)

Śrīdhara Svāmī also identifies this verse as a description of the śravaṇādi-phalam, the fruit of hearing the Bhāgavata.

<sup>193</sup> Śrīdhara glosses ātmanah as ātmatvena prakāśamānasya, "one who shines due to being the ātman."

<sup>194</sup> The discussion between Śukadeva and Parīkṣit, which is the main conversational thread for the entire Bhāgavata Purāṇa, commences in the second book. This result-verse occurs at the end of the book's second chapter, after the preliminary questions have been answered and before Śukadeva's main narration has begun.

<sup>195</sup> yasyām vai śrūyamāṇāyām kṛṣṇe parama-pūruṣe  
bhaktir utpadyate puṁsaḥ śoka-moha-bhayāpahā

Indeed, when one hears the Sātvata-saṁhitā (Bhāgavata Purāṇa), bhakti for the Supreme Person Kṛṣṇa arises, destroying one's sorrow, illusion, and fear.

(Bhāgavata 1.7.7)

<sup>196</sup> yaṁ brahmā varuṇendra-rudra-marutaḥ stuvanti divyair divyair  
vedair sāṅga-pada-kramopaniṣadair gāyanti yaṁ sāmagāḥ  
dhyānāvasthita-tad-gatena manasā paśyanti yaṁ yogino  
yasyāntaṁ na viduḥ surāśura-gaṇā devāya tasmai namaḥ

(Bhāgavata 12.13.1, the first verse of the final chapter of the Purāṇa)

"Progressive recitations" (pada-krama) refers to two methods of reciting Vedic hymns—pada-pāṭha, a simple sequential reading, and krama-pāṭha, in which one starts with the first word and moves to the second, then repeats the second and moves to the third, and so on.

<sup>197</sup> The last two sentences are quoted from Śrīdhara Svāmī.

## Reasoning—the sixth indicator

Now by reasoning (upapatti): “By physical objects (*dr̥śyaiḥ*) such as the intelligence, etc., by his own self (*svātmanā*), by characteristics (*lakṣaṇaiḥ*), and by arguments that lead one to make inferences (*anumāpakaiḥ*), Bhagavān Hari is perceived in all beings as the seer.”<sup>198</sup> Firstly, the seer is understood to be the jīva. How? Physical objects such as the intelligence demonstrate this in two ways: (1) by the characteristics (*lakṣaṇaiḥ*) which point to (the existence of a) self-luminous seer. This is shown by the untenable (anupapatti): “without the self-luminous seer, it is not possible for the inert physical objects such as the intelligence to see.” And (2) by arguments that lead to inferences (*anumāpakaiḥ*). This is shown by the invariable concomitance (vyāpti): “the intelligence, etc., are dependent upon an agent, because they are instruments, just like an axe, etc.”<sup>199</sup>

Now, Bhagavān is also understood. How? By (the presence of) his own self (*svātmanā*), his own portion, the inner controller (antaryāmī), who has entered into all beings and seers (*sarva-bhūteṣu*). The meaning is this: first, by (understanding the nature of) all the (individual) seers, the inner controller is understood; after that, by (understanding the nature of) the inner controller, Bhagavān is also understood. Like before, each one is understood in two ways (by untenability and invariable concomitance).

For instance, the antaryāmī is understood by this untenable (anupapatti): “Because one can see that the jīvas are not independent agents or enjoyers, and because karma, or activity, is also inert, therefore the jīvas’ inclination for being the agent or enjoyer cannot take place without a particular, inner instigator.”<sup>200</sup> This antaryāmī causes the self to see through the eye, hear through ear, think through the mind, and to understand through the intellect. Therefore, these two are spoken of in the Bhāllaveya-śruti, “moving and not moving.”<sup>201</sup>

Now, Bhagavān is understood through his portion antaryāmī, by this untenable: “So as to account for his being the inner controller *and* the supreme ruler, if someone superior enters the jīvas with *all* his portions, then

<sup>198</sup> bhagavān sarva-bhūteṣu lakṣitaḥ svātmanā hariḥ  
dr̥śyair buddhyādibhir draṣṭā lakṣaṇair anumāpakaiḥ  
(Bhāgavata 2.2.35)

<sup>199</sup> The above paragraph is, for the most part, quoted from Śrīdhara Svāmī, who also sees the verse as providing two ways of knowing Bhagavān—by lakṣaṇas and anumāpakas. See Chapter 3 of the present work for a comparison of Śrīdhara and Jīva’s comments on this verse.

<sup>200</sup> In other words, the impetus for activity cannot be located in the jīva, nor in the activity itself. Therefore, it must be found in the antaryāmī.

<sup>201</sup> This quotation, consisting of only two words, “sṛtir aṣṭiḥ,” is probably taken from Madhva’s writings. It is difficult to translate, since we lack any context for the phrase. Śyāmdās translates it into Hindi thus: “Therefore, the Bhāllaveya Śrutis [sic] call the living entity knowable (jñeya) and the Paramātmā unknowable (ajñeya)” (219).

he would not be the Lord (īśvara), because of the absence of completeness."<sup>202</sup> Therefore, in the Śrī Gītāopaniṣad, "Of what use will all this knowledge be to you, O Arjuna? With a single portion, I support this entire universe."<sup>203</sup> And in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, "the creation is permeated by a particle of his own energy."<sup>204</sup>

So also, the truth about antaryāmī is established by invariable concomitance (vyāpti): "The jīvas are inspired by the instigating agent because they are not independent, just like woodcutters and other laborers." Once again, this argument also establishes Bhagavān. "The not-very-influential jīva's inner controller is the Īśvara, and he is dependent upon his own source. This is also due to completeness, just like the lordship of one who employs woodcutters and other laborers is (ultimately) dependent on the lordship of the king."<sup>205</sup>

Or here (in the Bhāgavata), "Just as a single object, possessing many qualities, is perceived in different ways by the senses, so also is Bhagavān perceived by the different paths described in the scriptures."<sup>206</sup> Thus the point may be illustrated. This establishes the sameness of destination.<sup>207</sup> (Thus ends the explanation of the reasoning verse of the Bhāgavata, spoken by) Śrī Śuka.

Thus, the verse beginning "vadanti" has been firmly established.<sup>208</sup>

<sup>202</sup> If the Lord were to enter the jīva in his completeness, that is, with all his portions and energies, he would exhaust himself in the creation, and no longer be the transcendent ruler.

<sup>203</sup> Gītā 10.42.

<sup>204</sup> The purpose of quoting these verses is to show that the Lord is not expended in his creation. In other words, the complete Lord Bhagavān does not himself need to enter the jīvas and the world; a portion of him (the antaryāmī) is sufficient for the task.

<sup>205</sup> The antaryāmī is a secondary controller, just like one who employs workers on behalf of the king. Again, if the antaryāmī were the complete Bhagavān himself, it would mean that the Lord had lost himself in the creation.

<sup>206</sup> yathendriyaiḥ prthag-dvārair artho bahu-guṇāśrayaḥ  
eko nāneyate tadvad bhagavān śāstra-vartmabhiḥ  
(Bhāgavata 3.32.33)

This verse appears near the end of Kapila's instructions to his mother Devahūti, which take up nearly nine chapters of the third book of the Bhāgavata.

<sup>207</sup> Another translation of gati-sāmānyam is "consistency of import." Jīva Gosvāmī is here referring to Brahma-sūtra 1.1.10, "gati-sāmānyāt," which states that the Lord (and not pradhāna or the jīva) is the cause of the world because there is consistency of import to that effect in the scriptures. A slightly broader point is being made here by Jīva, namely, that all the scriptures consistently point toward the same goal, Bhagavān, by employing different methods of reasoning. In this way, Bhagavān is established as the object of reasoning, or upapatti. In this regard, Jīva's understanding of "gati-sāmānyāt" is closer to Madhva, who does not limit the scope of the sūtra to just the issue of the Lord's creatorship.

<sup>208</sup> As we have seen, Jīva Gosvāmī began this section of the Paramātmā-sandarbhā by saying that he would explicate the three-fold Godhead (trivṛtṭha), especially the primary manifestation, Bhagavān. He ends the section (and the Sandarbha) by saying that he has thoroughly completed his task.



# APPENDIX

## OVERVIEW OF THE BHĀGAVATA-SANDARBHA

The first four Sandarbhas deal primarily with *sambandha-jñāna*, that is, knowledge of God, the living entities, the world, and the relationships between them. The *Bhakti-sandarbha* covers *abhidheya*, or the means of reviving the personal relationship between the living entity and Bhagavān, while the final book, *Prīti-sandarbha*, describes *prayojana*, the ultimate perfected state of pure love for Kṛṣṇa.

The first three Sandarbhas address questions of ontology in a relatively non-sectarian way, using criteria of knowledge and proof-texts that would be acceptable to an audience much broader than the followers of Caitanya. Only when major issues regarding the status of the world, the personal nature of divinity, and the individuality of the *jīva* have been settled does Jīva Gosvāmī go on (in the *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*) to identify that divinity with Kṛṣṇa and describe his unique characteristics, relying on scriptural sources that are more internal to the tradition. This is interesting, for it means that Jīva exhaustively describes Bhāgavān without seriously describing Kṛṣṇa; that he explains the concept of *līlā* without addressing *rasa*; and that he establishes the status of the internal energy (*antaraṅgā śakti*) without mentioning Śrī Rādhā. Of course, in the process of elaborating the qualities and characteristics of Bhagavān, Jīva broadly identifies him with Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa, but this is an assumption that many Vedāntic writers will make, if only for the sake of demonstrating the applicability of general principles. Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa is present throughout the first three Sandarbhas, but not in the way Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas know him. Kṛṣṇa, the son of Nanda Maharāja, the Lord of the cows, and the beloved of Śrī Rādhā emerges only in the later treatises.

This kind of less-sectarian approach is a clear indicator of Jīva's Vedāntic intentions in the first three Sandarbhas. Engagement in Vedāntic discourse requires awareness of a universe of discourse much broader than one's own community. Eric Lott notes, for example, that there is a "striking difference in style" between Rāmānuja's Vedāntic writings and his devotional ones. "There is a remarkable avoidance of strictly sectarian material when he writes as a Vedantin, even though his Vedantic formulation remains based

scrupulously on the theology of his Vaiṣṇava tradition.” While it is true that “it is in the very nature of a theistic interpretation of Vedānta to remain closely associated with a particular religious community,” still, a theist such as Rāmānuja or Jīva would not “intend his Vedāntic writings solely for his own sect” (1980: 4). In the case of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, such sectarianism would go against one of the main motivations for Vedāntic discourse identified in Chapter 1 of this book, namely, to provide a generally acceptable, philosophical foundation for the practice of bhakti.

### *Tattva-sandarbha*<sup>1</sup>

The *Tattva-sandarbha* is the most widely read and frequently used of the six Sandarbhas. It is the only one to have been commented upon by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, the eighteenth-century author of the *Govinda-bhāṣya*, and it has received more scholarly attention in English than any other Sandarbha. This could simply be attributed to the fact that the *Tattva* is the first, shortest, and simplest of the six Sandarbhas, consisting of only 63 sections (*anucchedas*). It could also be attributed, however, to the fundamental nature of its subject matter. The *Tattva* lays down the foundation upon which Jīva Gosvāmī builds his philosophical and theological edifice, as well as the methodology by which he does it.

That *Tattva-sandarbha* has traditionally been divided into two parts: the *pramāṇa-khaṇḍa*, which deals with the standards of knowledge and methodology to be used in the text, and the *prameya-khaṇḍa*, which delineates the theses to be demonstrated by these methods. Jīva’s main concern in the first part is to demonstrate the preeminence of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* over all other forms of scripture, and its exclusive status as the best means of certain knowledge (*pramāṇa*). He does this by first discussing the traditionally accepted *pramāṇas*, such as sense perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and analogy (*upamāna*), and rejecting them because of their unreliability in ascertaining a transcendental subject matter. The only *pramāṇa* that is dependable and faultless in this regard is *śabda*—the testimony of perfected souls given through scriptural revelation.

The crucial question then is: what qualifies as *śabda*?, and Jīva dedicates the majority of the first part to answering this question. The unchallenged repository of scriptural revelation is, of course, the Veda, but what the category of Veda includes is initially not clear. The four *saṃhitās*—*Rg*, *Yajur*, *Sāma*, and *Atharva*—as well as the Upaniṣads are universally accepted, but Jīva argues further for the inclusion of the Purāṇas, *Mahābhārata*, and *Rāmāyaṇa* as the “fifth Veda.” He cites numerous passages in support, mainly

<sup>1</sup> A highly detailed summary of the six Sandarbhas can be found in S.K. De’s *Early History*, (1986: 255–421). De also provides an exhaustive list of Jīva’s quotations from other sources. Both proved very useful in preparing this brief outline.

from the Purāṇas themselves, but also from the Upaniṣads. Not only are the Purāṇas included in the Veda, Jīva reasons, but they are in fact better than the rest of Vedic literature because they are available to all classes of people. They are more easily understood by the people of this degraded age (*kali-yuga*), and they present the intended meaning of the Upaniṣads and four Vedas. Of all the Purāṇas, however, the *Bhāgavata* is the topmost, being spotless (*amala*). Jīva rests this claim on supporting quotations from various Purāṇas as well as the *Bhāgavata* itself.

The second part of the *Tattva-sandarbha* can be seen as a detailed elaboration of verses four to eleven of the first book, seventh chapter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. These verses describe the trance of Vyāsa, the author of the *Bhāgavata*. While meditating, Vyāsa saw the Supreme Person and his external energy, which deludes the living entities and causes their misery. He also saw that the masses were ignorant of the fact that devotion to the Lord could bring an end to their suffering. He therefore composed the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* for their upliftment, and afterwards taught it to his son Śukadeva. At this point, the question is raised, “Why did Śukadeva study this vast composition, given that he was already leading a life of perfection?” Sūta Gosvāmī answers with the famous verse: “Although these sages rejoice in the self alone and although they are free of all bonds, they still perform unmotivated bhakti for Urukrama (Viṣṇu). Such are qualities of Hari!”<sup>2</sup>

Jīva takes this verse (along with those preceding it) as relaying the basic import of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Drawing various philosophical conclusions from them, he uses the next dozen or so sections to argue against Śaṅkara’s nondualism. He attempts to show that the living entity is not the supreme Brahman, but distinct from him; that the doctrines of *pratibimba* and *pariccheda* are fatally flawed; that Vyāsa’s experience does not support a nondualist view; that apparently nondualist statements in the scripture need to be interpreted in light of Vyāsa’s experience; and that love of God is superior even to the bliss of Brahman.

Jīva goes on to analyze Vyāsa’s trance in terms of the categories of *sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*. He states that the purpose of the Sandarbhas is to ascertain these three things, and he will do so in accordance with the understanding of Vyāsa.

### *Bhagavat-sandarbha*

As its name implies, the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* lays out the complete Caitanya Vaiṣṇava doctrine of Bhagavān—the personal, supremely worshipable, and blissfully active repository of all powers, Śrī Kṛṣṇa. But, unlike the *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*, which deals specifically with the theology surrounding the person

<sup>2</sup> ātmārāmāś ca munayo nirgranthā apy urukrame/kurvanty ahaitukīm bhaktim ittham-bhūta-guṇo hariḥ (*Bhāgavata* 1.7.10).



of Kṛṣṇa, the *Bhagavat* is interested more in the philosophical justification for divine personhood. Jīva Gosvāmī deals with the problems posed by a God who is eternally active and yet eternally unchangeable (*avikāra*), who is full of unlimited attributes and yet undifferentiated (*nirviśeṣa*), and who is the creator of the phenomenal world and yet unsullied by its qualities (*nirguṇa*).

It is in this *Sandarbha* that Jīva Gosvāmī introduces the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava doctrine of a three-fold Absolute. Although the Absolute Truth is nondual and indivisible, it has three aspects: Brahman (the undifferentiated, impersonal Reality), Paramātmā (the localized form of the Lord present in every part of the creation), and Bhagavān (the supreme, blissful Person who is the object of devotion). The Paramātmā and Bhagavān aspects are discussed in the *Sandarbhas* named after them. There is no need for a separate *Sandarbha* to explain Brahman because, Jīva reasons, anyone who understands Bhagavān automatically knows Brahman. Besides, undifferentiated Brahman has already been thoroughly described by the nondualist school of Advaita Vedānta.

Fundamental to the Caitanyite understanding of Bhagavān is the idea of God as the possessor of all energies (*śakti*). Jīva dedicates the majority of the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* to delineating and justifying the concept of *śakti*. He classifies the Lord's energies into three types—the *māyā-śakti* (the material energy which constitutes and creates this phenomenal world), *jīva-śakti* (the living entities), and *svarūpa-śakti* (the Lord's personal energy which consists of his own nature). He further divides the *svarūpa-śakti* into three kinds: *sandhinī* (the Lord's power of existence), *sanvit* (the power of knowledge), and *hlādinī* (the power of bliss). These correspond approximately to the Vedāntic categories of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda* associated with Brahman.

Another concept introduced in the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* is *līlā*, divine play. When faced with the question, "For what reason does Bhagavān display his *śaktis*?" Jīva answers that it is simply for the purpose of play (*līlā*). Play is part of the essential nature of Bhagavān, arising out of his natural blissfulness.

### *Paramātmā-sandarbha*

After discussing the concept of Bhagavān, Jīva Gosvāmī turns his attention to the second aspect of the three-fold Absolute, namely, Paramātmā. Whereas Bhagavān displays all the energies and opulences of the Absolute, Paramātmā manifests them only partially. Specifically, Paramātmā is the form of the Lord meant to deal with the workings of the material world and the living entities within it.

Because the Paramātmā works so closely with the material energy and the living entities, the majority of this *Sandarbha* is dedicated to elucidating the nature of these two and their relation to the Lord. Jīva Gosvāmī asserts that while the Paramātmā is only one, the living entities (*jīvas*) are many. Each *jīva* is eternally an individual, different from every other *jīva*. Nevertheless,



the *jīvas* all possess the same divine nature. They are eternal, conscious, immutable, pure, and always dependent on the Paramātmā.

The material energy (*māyā*) can be the cause of both bondage and emancipation for the *jīvas*. It has two main functions—to deal with the entangled living entities and to provide for the creation, maintenance, and dissolution of the phenomenal world. In its role with the living entities, it can either liberate them through the power of knowledge (*vidyā*) or delude them by the power of ignorance (*avidyā*). Although *māyā* is not part of Bhagavān's essential nature (*svarūpa*), and although he is beyond its binding influence, it nevertheless rests within Bhagavān and arises from him.

Questions concerning the nature of *jīva* and *māyā* are a major locus of disagreement between Vedāntic schools of thought. As such, the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* serves to a large extent as the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava statement against conflicting philosophies, especially the traditional archrival, Advaita Vedānta. Jīva Gosvāmī uses the concepts already introduced in the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* to establish the Caitanyite viewpoint on problems of general concern. The arguments against the doctrines of *pariccheda* and *pratibimba* outlined in the *Tattva-sandarbha* are developed in detail here. The nondualist doctrine of *vivarta* (the world as apparent transformation) is rejected in favor of *śakti-parināma-vāda* (the world as a transformation of the Lord's energy). The Sāṅkhya analysis of the field (*kṣetra*) and the knower of the field (*kṣetrajñā*) is modified to accommodate a more theistic viewpoint. The theory of oneness between living entity and Brahman is replaced by a doctrine of inconceivable difference and non-difference (*acintya-bhedābheda*). And the worship of gods like Brahmā and Śiva is presented as inferior to, and subsumed within, the worship of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.

### *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*

The primary concern of this work is to establish Kṛṣṇa as Bhagavān. A single phrase is chosen from the previously agreed-upon scriptural authority, namely the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and established as the *mahā-vākya*—the defining statement of the entire *Purāṇa*. This phrase comes from a verse found in chapter 3 of book one. It appears immediately after the *Bhāgavata*'s description of twenty-two different divine descents (*avatāras*): “ete cāmśa kalāḥ puṁsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam,” “These avatāras are portions and sub-portions of the Supreme Person, but Kṛṣṇa is Bhagavān himself.” (1.3.28). Jīva asserts that because this statement is the *mahā-vākya*, all contradictory statements found in the *Bhāgavata* and other scriptures must be reconciled to this one. He then goes on to demonstrate this hermeneutical method on several apparently contradictory passages. He also marshals a host of passages from various texts confirming the *mahā-vākya*.

Just as Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the highest Deity, so everything and everyone related to him are also the best of their kind. Śrīmatī Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's consort and

greatest devotee, is the embodiment of his personal energy—specifically his power of bliss (*hlādinī-śakti*). She is superior even to Lakṣmī and the queens of Dvārakā, who are lesser manifestations of this same *śakti*. Kṛṣṇa's residence, Goloka, is the highest abode in the celestial sky, greater than the abodes of Viṣṇu. His youthful, two-handed form is the original, most essential, and sweetest form of the Godhead, more attractive than those forms with many hands or non-human shapes.

The *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* borrows much of its content from Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*.<sup>3</sup> Both works deal extensively with the theory of divine descent and provide a detailed classification of their types and relative importance. They accept and delineate the Pāncarātra system of *catur-vyūhas*—forms of Viṣṇu appearing in sets of four to facilitate creation. Both introduce the categories of manifest (*prakaṣa*) and unmanifest (*aprakaṣa*) in relation to Kṛṣṇa's pastimes and affirm that these pastimes are being played out eternally in one of these states. Similarities are also obvious in the discussion of the Lord's abode (*dhāma*) and associates (*parikara*). There are a number of quotations from the Purāṇas and Tantras which are used by both Rūpa and Jīva.

### *Bhakti-sandarbha and Prīti-sandarbha*

While it is evident that Jīva drew heavily from the works of Rūpa and Sanātana in his last three Sandarbhas, this was by no means a simple repetition of their teachings. The special way in which he formulates and presents their doctrines reveals Jīva's priorities in composing the Sandarbhas.

In the *Bhakti* and *Prīti Sandarbhas*, Jīva Gosvāmī borrows from two works by Rūpa Gosvāmī on the aesthetics of devotion—the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and the *Ujñvala-nīlamanī*. The former is divided into four parts, each named after a directional ocean. From a preliminary comparison of the last two Sandarbhas with *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, it appears that the *Bhakti-sandarbha* corresponds roughly to the first part (eastern ocean) of Rūpa's work. The *Prīti-sandarbha* then picks up on the subject matter of the remaining three oceans as well as the *Ujñvala-nīlamanī*.

In the *Bhakti-sandarbha*, Jīva restricts his treatment of *bhakti* to the stage of regulated devotional practice (*sādhana*). He discusses its two levels and the specific practices associated with each. He introduces the nine types of devotion and the primary *rasas*. Jīva also provides us with a general description of *bhakti* in terms of its essential characteristics (*svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*) and accidental characteristics (*taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*).

While the *Bhakti-sandarbha* charts the path of devotion (*abhidheya*), the *Prīti-sandarbha* reveals its ultimate destination and reward (*prayojana*),

<sup>3</sup> The *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* is named as a condensed version of Sanātana Gosvāmī's *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, although it is in fact concerned more with the theological justification of ideas found in the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*.

namely *prīti*—unmotivated, unceasing love for Kṛṣṇa. This love consists of a variety of *rasas*—intensified emotional states of love expressed in various relationships between the Lord and his devotees. In the *Prīti-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmī enters more deeply into the intricacies of *rasa* theology. He makes a thorough analysis of the five primary *rasas*, as well as the seven secondary ones.<sup>4</sup> He discusses the successive stages in the appearance and growth of these sentiments in the devotee. He highlights the amorous sentiment (*mādhurya-rasa*) as the perfection of love for Kṛṣṇa. Through this discussion, Kṛṣṇa himself emerges as the overflowing reservoir of all *rasa* and its chief relisher as well.

Although Jīva follows Rūpa Gosvāmī faithfully in his account of *bhakti* and *rasa*, there are important differences in approach and emphasis. The relative space Jīva allocates to the exoteric and esoteric aspects of devotion is especially significant. While Rūpa devotes only one part (the eastern ocean) of the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* to regulated practice, Jīva dedicates an entire *Sandarbha* to its exposition. He places *sādhana* at the heart of his largest *Sandarbha* and thus firmly grounds *bhakti* in the exoteric, regulated practice of the devotee.

Even when Jīva deals with the higher levels of *rasa*, he prefaces and intersperses his discussion with philosophical considerations that may have been of less concern to Rūpa Gosvāmī. Towards the beginning of *Prīti-sandarbha*, for example, Jīva includes a lengthy discussion on *mukti*, liberation. He classifies their different types, assesses their relative worth, and identifies their primary characteristics. Only after thoroughly analyzing the concept of liberation, and rejecting it as the final goal, does he proceed to the main topic of the *Sandarbha*. Similarly, Jīva Gosvāmī begins *Bhakti-sandarbha* by addressing questions that underlie the devotional quest itself. What need is there to perform *bhakti* in the first place? Is *bhakti* simply the means to something higher, or is it an end in itself? Where does *bhakti* stand in relation to other recognized paths to liberation such as the cultivation of knowledge (*jñāna*), action (*karma*) or yoga? And is *bhakti* capable of standing on its own as a spiritual process, or must it be accompanied by these others? Jīva is also keen to anticipate and respond to possible objections in the course of his argument. It is as if he expects his reader to be a person of mild skepticism who will test the coherence of the system by introducing evidence from conflicting sources or by questioning the validity of the author's sources. One objection, for example, comes from the realm of orthodox poetics, which regards *bhakti* as merely *bhāva* (emotion) rather than full-fledged *rasa*. Jīva's rebuttal is of great theoretical interest, for Caitanya Vaiṣṇava aesthetics rests on the proposition that *bhakti* is *rasa*.

<sup>4</sup> The five primary *rasas* are peaceful devotion (*śānta*), servitude (*dāsyā*), friendship (*sakhya*), parental affection (*vātsalya*), and amorous love (*mādhurya*). The seven secondary are humor (*hāsyā*), wonder (*adbhuta*), chivalry (*vīra*), compassion (*karuṇā*), fury (*raudra*), horror (*bībhatsa*), and dread (*bhayānaka*).

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary sources

Note that Jīva Gosvāmī's works are listed alphabetically, not chronologically.

*Agni Mahāpurāṇam: Sanskrit Text, English Translation and Index of Verses.*  
Ed. Joshi K.L. Shastri. Trans. M.N. Dutt. 2 vols. Delhi: Parimal Publications, 2001.

Amara. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam [Amarakośa] with the Commentary Amarakośodghāṭana of Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmin.* Poona Oriental Series. Eds. Har Dutt Sharma, and N.G. Sardesai. Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1941.

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. *The Vedānta-Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa with the Commentary of Baladeva.* Trans. Rāi Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint, 1979.

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa [Śrīmad Bhāgavatam].* Trans. A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda. 18 Vols. 1987. Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1998.

Brahmacari, Nityasvarupa (ed.) *Bhāgavatapurāṇa with Commentaries by Śrīdhara Svāmī, Rādhārāmaṇa Dāsa Gosvāmī, Vīrarāghavācārya, Vijayadhvajātīrtha, Vallabhācārya, Jīva Gosvāmī, Śukadeva.* Vrindaban: the editor, 1903.

Elkman, Mark Stuart. *Jīva Gosvāmin's Tattvasandarbhā: A Study on the Philosophical and Sectarian Development of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.

Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhāgavatasandarbhā (Ṣaṭsandarbha).* Ed. Purīdās. Vrindavan: Haridās Śarma, 1951.

Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhāgavatasandarbhā (Ṣaṭsandarbha).* Trans. (Hindi) Haridās Śāstri. 6 Vols. Vrindavana: Gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1986.

Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhagavatsandarbhā.* Trans. (Bengali) Satyānanda Gosvāmī Siddhāntaratna. Calcutta: Bhagavatdharmamandala, 1927.

Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhagavatsandarbhā.* Ed. Chinmayi Chatterjee. Calcutta: Jadavpur University Press, 1972.

Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhagavatsandarbhā [Sri Bhagavat Sandarbha: An Essay on Bhagavan].* Trans. Kuśakratha dāsa. n.p.: Kṛṣṇa Library, 1995.

Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhagavatsandarbhā (with the Gopālatoṣaṇī Commentary of Śyāmdās).* Trans. (Hindi) Śyāmdās. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1990.

Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhaktisandarbhā.* Ed. Kṛṣṇagopāla Gosvāmī. Trans. (Bengali) Rādhārāmaṇa Gosvāmī. Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1960.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhaktisandarbhā*. Trans. Prāṇagopāl Gosvāmī. Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 2000.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Bhaktisandarbhā (with the Gopālatoṣaṇī Commentary of Śyāmdās)*. Trans. (Hindi) Śyāmdās. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1982.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Brahma-Samhitā with Commentary by Shri Shrila Jeeva Goswāmī*. Ed. Bhakti Vilās Tirtha Goswāmī. Trans. Bhakti Siddhānta Saraswati Goswāmī. 3rd ed. Madras: Sree Gaudiya Math, 1973.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Kṛṣṇasandarbhā*. Ed. Prāṇagopāl Gosvāmī. Trans. (Bengali) Prāṇagopāl Gosvāmī. 1926. Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1996.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Kṛṣṇasandarbhā (with the Gopālatoṣaṇī Commentary of Śyāmdās)*. Trans. (Hindi) Śyāmdās. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1996a.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Kṛṣṇasandarbhā and Its Critical Study*. Ed. Chinmayi Chatterjee. Calcutta: Jadavpur University, 1986.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Kramasandarbhā*. Ed. Purīdās. Vrindavan: Haridās Śarma, 1952.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Paramātmāsandarbhā*. Ed. Chinmayi Chatterjee. Calcutta: Jadavpur University, 1972.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Paramātmāsandarbhā*. Trans. (Bengali) Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna. Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1998.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Paramātmāsandarbhā (with the Gopālatoṣaṇī Commentary of Śyāmdās)*. Trans. (Hindi) Śyāmdās. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1999.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Śrī Paramātmā-Sandarbhā: An Essay on the Supersoul*. Trans. Kuśakrathā dāsa. 6 vols. n.p.: Kṛṣṇa Library, 1993.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Prītīsandarbhā*. Ed. Navadvīpcandra Dās. Trans. (Bengali) Navadvīpcandra Dās. n.p., 1930.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Prītīsandarbhā (with the Gopālatoṣaṇī Commentary of Śyāmdās)*. Trans. (Hindi) Śyāmdās. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1998.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Sarvasamvādinī*. Ed. Bābā Kṛṣṇadāsa. Rādhākuṇḍa (Mathura): Gaurahari Press, 1965.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Sarvasamvādinī*. Ed. Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī. Vrindavan, 1905.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Sarvasamvādinī*. Trans. (Bengali) Rasikamohan Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Calcutta: Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 1921.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Sarvasamvādinī with Commentary Cūṛṇikā by Jīva Gosvāmī*. Ed. Purīdās. Vrindavan: Haridās Śarma, 1953.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Tattvasandarbhā*. Ed. Sitanath Goswami. Calcutta: Jadavpur University Press, 1967.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Tattvasandarbhā* [Jīva Gosvāmin's Tattvasandarbhā: A Study on the Philosophical and Sectarian Development of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement]. Trans. Mark Stuart Elkman. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Tattvasandarbhā* [Śrī Tattva Sandarbha: An Essay on Truth]. Trans. Kuśakrathā dāsa. Los Angeles: Kṛṣṇa Institute, 1987.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Tattvasandarbhā*. Trans. Satya Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, and Kuṇḍalī Dāsa. Vrindavan: Jīva Institute for Vaiṣṇava Studies, 1995.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Tattvasandarbhā (with the Commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Gopālatoṣaṇī Commentary of Śyāmdās)*. Trans. (Hindi) Śyāmdās. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1984.
- Jīva Gosvāmī. *Tattvasandarbhā (with the Commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa)*. Trans. (Bengali) Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna. Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1996.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kavikarṇapūra. *Śrī Caitanyacandrodayanāṣakam*. Ed. Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha Mahārāja. Trans. (Bengali) Tamālākṣṇa Vidyālaṅkāra. Mayapur, W. Bengal: Caitanya Maṭha, 1974.
- Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja Gosvāmī*. Trans. A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda. 9 Vols. Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1996.
- Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. *Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: A Translation and Commentary*. Trans. Edward C. Dimock, and Tony Kevin Stewart. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Madhva. *The Brahmasūtra Bhashya of Sri Madhvacharya with Glosses of Sri Jayatirtha, Sri Vyasa-tirtha and Sri Raghavendrathirtha*. Ed. R. Raghavendrathacharya. 2 vols. Mysore: Government Branch Press, 1911.
- Madhva. *Bhāgavata Tātparyā Nirṇaya*. Sarva-Mūla-Granthāḥ 3. Ed. Bannanje Govindācharya. Udupi: Akhilabhāratamādhvamahāmaṇḍalaprakāśanam, 1980.
- Mahābhārata, Critical Edition*. Eds. Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, Shripa Krishna Belvalkar, and Parasurama Lakshmana Vaidya. 19 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933–1960.
- Nityānanda Dāsa. *Prema-Vilāsa*. Kolkata: Mahesh Library, 1999.
- Olivelle, Patrick, trans. *Upaniṣads*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Pāṇini. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Trans. Śrīśa Chandra Vasu. 2 Vols. 1891. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988.
- Prabhodānanda Sarasvatī. *Śrī Caitanya-Candrāmṛta* [The Nectar Moon of Śrī Caitanya]. Trans. Kuśakratha dāsa. Los Angeles: The Kṛṣṇa Institute, 1986.
- Rāmānuja. *Śrībhāṣyam Śārīrakamūmāmsābhāṣyam (Critical Edition)*. Vols 1 and 2. Ed. M.A. Lakshmithathachar. Melkote: Academy of Sanskrit Research, 1985.
- Rāmānuja, and Sri. U. Ve. P. M. Chakravarty Acharya Swamy. *The Brahmasūtra-s (Śārīrakam) of Bhagavad Bādarāyaṇa with the Gloss Śrībhāṣya (Śārīrakamūmāmsābhāṣya) of Śrī Rāmānuja with Its Commentary Śrībhāṣyabhāvacandrikā by Sri. U. Ve. P. M. Chakravarty Acharya Swamy*. Vol. 1. Ed. Sri. U. Ve. Dr. P. Narasimhan. Chennai: Sri. U. Ve. S.V.S. Raghavan through Śrī Nṛsiṃhapriyā Trust, 2000.
- R̥gveda: A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes*. Eds. Barend A. van Nooten, and Gary B. Holland. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Rūpa Gosvāmī. *Śrī Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmī with the Durgamasāṅgamanī Commentary of Jīva Gosvāmī, Bhaktisārapradarśinī of Viśvanātha Cakravartī and Harikṛpābodhinī of Śyāmdās*. Trans. (into Hindi) Śyāmdās (Śyāmlāl Hakīm). Vrindaban, U.P.: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1981.
- Rūpa Gosvāmī. *Śrī Laghubhāgavatāmṛtam*. Mayapur, Nadiya: Śrī Caitanya Maṭha, 1995.
- Rūpa Gosvāmī. *The Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin*. Trans. David L. Haberman. Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.
- Sanātana Gosvāmī. *Śrī Bṛhad Bhāgavatāmṛta of Śrīla Sanātana Gosvāmī*. Trans. Gopīparāṇadhana Dāsa. 3 vols. Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 2002–2004.
- Śaṅkara. *The Brahmasūtra Śaṅkara Bhāṣhya with the Commentaries Bhāmatī, Kalpataru and Parīmala and with Index Etc*. Eds. Nurani Anantha Krishna Śāstrī, and Vāsudev Laxman Shāstrī Pansīkar. Bombay: Tukārām Jāvajī, 1917.

- Śāstri, Kṛṣṇaśaṅkara, et al. (eds) *Bhāgavata Purāṇa, with the Commentaries of Śrīdhara, Rādhāraṇadāsa Gosvāmī, Vijayadhvaṇa, Jīva Gosvāmī, Vallabha, Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Etc.* 12 Vols. Varanasi: Saṁsāra Press, 1965.
- Skandapurāṇa, Volume 1, Adhyāyas 1–25.* Eds. R. Adriaensen, H.T. Bakker, and H. Isaacson. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998.
- Śrīdhara Svāmī. *Bhāvārthadīpikā* [Bhāgavata Purāṇa of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayana Vyāsa with the Sanskrit Commentary Bhavārthabodhinī of Śrīdhara Svāmī]. Ed. J.L. Shastri. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999.
- Upaniṣatsaṁgrahaḥ, Containing 188 Upaniṣads.* Ed. J.L. Shastri. 1970. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984.
- Vṛndāvanadāsa Thākura. *Śrī Caitanyabhāgavata*. Trans. Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī Gosvāmī (in Bengali). Mayapur, W. Bengal: Caitanya Maṭha, 1997.

### Secondary sources

- Bansal, Naresh Chandra. *Caitanya Sampradāya: Siddhānta Aur Sāhitya*. n.p., n.d.
- Bhattacharya, Siddhesvara. *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*. 2 Vols. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Santiniketan, 1960.
- Bhattacharyya, N.N. *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1989.
- Brahmachari, Mahanama Brata. *Vaiṣṇava Vedānta (The Philosophy of Śrī Jīva Gosvāmī)*. Calcutta: Das Gupta & Co., 1974.
- Brzezinski, Jan. "The Gopālacampū of Jīva Gosvāmī." Doctoral dissertation, no. 1735. School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990.
- Brzezinski, Jan. "The Authenticity of the Caitanyacaritāmṛtamahākāvya." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1991): 469–90.
- Burton, Adrian P. "Temples, Texts, and Taxes: The Bhagavad-Gītā and the Politico-Religious Identity of the Caitanya Sect." PhD dissertation. Australian National University, 2000.
- Carman, John Braisted. *The Theology of Rāmānuja: An Essay in Interreligious Understanding*. London: Yale University Press, 1974. Bombay: Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, 1981.
- Carney, Gerald T. "The Theology of Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya*, Act II." Doctoral dissertation. Fordham University, 1979.
- Case, Margaret (ed.) *Govindadev: A Dialogue in Stone*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, 1996.
- Cattopadhyaya, Aghoranatha. *Bhaktacaritāmṛta: Lives and Teachings of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Jīva Gosvāmī*. n.p., 1893.
- Chakravarti, Janardan. *Bengal Vaisnavism and Sri Chaitanya*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1975.
- Chakravarti, Sudhindra Chandra. *Philosophical Foundation of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism*. Calcutta: Academic Publishing, 1969.
- Chatterjee, Chhanda. *The Philosophy of Chaitanya and His School*. New Delhi: Associated Publishing, 1993.
- Clooney S.J., Francis X. *Thinking Ritually: Rediscovering the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā of Jaimini*. Vienna: De Nobili Research Library, 1990a.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Clooney S.J., Francis X. "Vedānta, Commentary, and the Theological Component of Cross-Cultural Study." In Frank Reynolds, and David Tracy (eds) *Myth and Philosophy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1990b. 287–314.
- Clooney S.J., Francis X. "Binding the Text: Vedānta As Philosophy and Commentary." In Jeffrey R. Timm (ed.) *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992. 47–68.
- Clooney S.J., Francis X., *Theology After Vedānta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993.
- Clooney S.J., Francis X. "'For Bhakti Is Synonymous with Upāsana': Rāmānuja's Understanding of Upāsana Particularly As Exemplified in the Commentaries on *Tiruvāymoḷi*." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 6.1 (1998): 117–39.
- Das, Govardhan. *Vraja Dhām O Śrī Gosvāmīgāṇ*. Calcutta: n.p., n.d.
- Das, Haridas. *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān*. 2 Vols. Navadwip: Haribole Kutir, n.d.
- Das, Sundarananda. *Vaiṣṇav-Vandanā O Śrī Vaiṣṇavābhidānam*. Calcutta: n.p., 1961.
- Dasgupta, Surendranath. *A History of Indian Philosophy*. 5 Vols. 1949. London: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- De, Sushil Kumar. *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal from Sanskrit and Bengali Sources*. Calcutta: Firma KLM Private, 1986.
- Dīpak, Brajbhuṣaṇ Caturvedī. *Braj Kī Lok-Kathāṇ: Ek Adhyayan (Vratānuṣṭhān Ke Sambodh Me)*. Vrindavan: Vrindaban Research Institute, 1995.
- Dimock, Edward C., Jr. "Doctrine and Practice Among Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal." In Milton Singer (ed.) *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. 41–63.
- Edwardes, S.M., and H.L.O. Garrett. *Mughal Rule in India*. Delhi: S. Chand, n.d.
- Elkman, Mark Stuart. *Jīva Gosvāmīn's Tattvasandarbha: A Study on the Philosophical and Sectarian Development of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- Elkman, Stuart. "The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Concept of Śabda." In Richard W. Lariuere, and Richard Salomon (eds) *The Adyar Library Bulletin (Vol. 51): Festschrift for Professor Ludo Rocher*. Madras: Adyar Library and Research Center (The Theosophical Society), 1987. 145–56.
- Enwistle, A.W. *Braj Centre of Krishna Pilgrimage*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1987.
- Gangadharan, N. *Garuḍa Purāṇa—A Study*. Varanasi: All India Kashiraj Trust, 1972.
- Gosvāmī, Lalitācaraṇa. *Śrīhita Harivaṁśa Gosvāmī: Sampradāya Aur Sāhitya*. Vṇḍāvana: Veṇu Prakāśan, 1989.
- Gosvāmī, Syamalala. *Bhakta-Jīvanī: Lives of 51 Vaiṣṇava Saints Compiled From the Bhaktamāla of Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābājī*. n.p., 1925.
- Govindacharya, Bannanje. "An Interview with Professor Bannanje Govindacharya on the Life of Madhvācārya." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 5.3 (1997): 7–16.
- Griffiths, Paul J. *Religious Reading: The Place of Reading in the Practice of Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Grimes, John. *The Seven Great Untenables (Sapta-Vidhā Anupapatti)*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990.
- Grimes, John. *An Advaita Vedānta Perspective on Language*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1991.
- Grimes, John. "Two Philosophical Presuppositions Vis-a-Vis Dvaita Vedānta." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 9.1 (2000): 5–20.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gupta Gombrich, Sanjukta. "A Monist's Love of God: Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Definition of Bhakti." *Prajñājyoti*. Eds. Debabrata Sen Sharma, and Manabendu Banerjee. Kurukshetra, India: Nirmal Book Agency, 1991.
- Gupta, Ravi M. "A Translation of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Śrī Prameya Ratnāvali and an Essay Analyzing Its Philosophical and Historical Context." Senior Thesis, Boise State University, 1999.
- Hansen, Waldemar. *The Peacock Throne: The Drama of Mogul India*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.
- Hardy, Friedhelm. "Mādhavendra Purī: A Link Between Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and South Indian Bhakti." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1974): 23–41.
- Hardy, Friedhelm. *Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Haynes, Richard D. "Svāmī Haridās and the Haridāsī Sampradāy." Doctoral dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 1974.
- Henderson, John B. *Scripture, Canon, and Commentary: A Comparison of Confucian and Western Exegesis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Hiriyanna, M. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993.
- Hopkins, Thomas J. "The Social Teaching of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa." In Milton Singer (ed.) *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. 3–22.
- Hopkins, Thomas J. "Bhakti in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 2.3 (1994): 7–43.
- Hopkins, Thomas J. "Orthodoxy Vs. Devotionalism: Tension and Adjustment in the Vaiṣṇava Tradition." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 6.1 (1998): 5–15.
- Horstmann, Monika. *In Favour of Govinddevī: Historical Documents Relating to a Deity of Vrindaban and Eastern Rajasthan*. Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Manohar, 1999.
- Ingalls, Daniel Henry Holmes. *Materials for the Study of Navya-Nyāya Logic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951.
- Jana, Nareśchandra. *Vṛndābaner Chay Gosvāmī*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1970.
- Joshi, Rasik Vihari. "The First Verse of the Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa." *Purāṇa* VI.2 (1964): 378–90.
- Joshi, Rasik Vihari. "Catuṣṭlokī or Saptasṭlokī Bhāgavata: A Critical Study." *Purāṇa* XVI.1 (1974): 26–46.
- Kapoor, O.B.L. *The Philosophy and Religion of Sri Caitanya: The Philosophical Background of the Hare Krishna Movement*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1977.
- Kapoor, O.B.L. *The Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana*. Caracas: Sarasvatī Jayasrī Classics, 1995.
- Kapoor, O.B.L. "Śrī Caitanya and the Mādhva Sampradāya." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 5.3 (1997): 35–53.
- Kennedy, Melville T. *The Caitanya Movement: A Study of Vaishnavism in Bengal*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1993.
- Kumar, Svapana. *Bhaktaśreṣṭha Rūpa Sanātan*. Calcutta, 1969.
- Kuppuswami Sastri, S. *A Primer of Indian Logic According to Annambhaṭṭa's Tarkasaṅgraha*. 3rd edn. Madras: Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 1961.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley. *Mediaeval India Under Mohammedan Rule (A.D. 712–1764)*. 1903. Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1990.

- Lipner, Julius J. *The Face of Truth: A Study of Meaning and Metaphysics in the Vedāntic Theology of Rāmānuja*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986.
- Lott, Eric. *Vedāntic Approaches to God*. London: Macmillan, 1980.
- Majumdar, A.K. *Caitanya: His Life and Doctrine. A Study in Vaiṣṇavism*. Chowpatty, India: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1969.
- Matchett, Freda. *Kṛṣṇa: Lord or Avatāra? The Relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu*. London: Curzon, 2001.
- Minkowski, Christopher Z. "Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara and the Genre of Mantra-rahasyaprakāśikā." 1999. <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/sanskrit/papers/index.html>. (accessed 28 Jan. 2/04).
- Minkowski, Christopher. "Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's *Mantrakāśikhaṇḍa*." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122.2 (2002a): 329–44.
- Minkowski, Christopher. "Nīlakaṇṭha's Vedic Readings in the Harivaṁśa Commentary." Article, 2002b.
- Mītala, Prabhudayala. *Caitanya Mata Aur Braj Sāhitya*. Calcutta: n.p., 1962.
- Mītala, Prabhudayala. *Braj Ke Dharma Sampradāyom Kā Itihāsa*. Mathura: Aggarwal Press, 1968.
- Mukherjee, Tarapada, and J.C. Wright. "An Early Testamentary Document in Sanskrit." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLII.2 (1979).
- Mukhopadhyaya, Durgadas. *Religion, Philosophy and Literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1990.
- Murty, K. Satchidananda. *Revelation and Reason in Advaita Vedānta*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Narang, Sudesh. *The Vaiṣṇava Philosophy According to Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa*. Delhi: Nag, 1984.
- Nath, Radha Govinda. *Śrī Caitanya Sampradāya (Śrī Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya)*. Trans. Nityānanda Dāsa. Vrindavan: Śrī Harināma Saṅkīrtana Maṇḍala, 2000.
- Nityānand, Dr. *Hamāre Chah Gosvāmī (Śrī Gauḍīya Ṣaḍgosvāmivṛnd)*. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1979.
- O'Connell, Joseph T. "Hindu Participation in Mughal Rule in Bengal and Assam: Note From *Baharistan-I-Ghaybi* of Mirza Nathan." In Mohammad Monirussaman, and Mahmud Shah Qureshi (eds) *Festschrift for Syed Ali Ahsan*. n.p.: Syed Ali Ahsan Felicitation Committee, 1985.
- Pinch, William R. "Remembering Ramanand: Caste and History in Gangetic India." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 8.1 (1999): 35–57.
- Potter, Karl H. *Presuppositions of India's Philosophies*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Potter, Karl (ed.) *Indian Metaphysics and Epistemology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Potter, Karl H. (ed.) *Advaita Vedānta Up to Śaṅkara and His Pupils*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Prabhupāda, A.C. Bhaktivedānta Swami. *The Complete Teachings*. Folio Infobase Program. Sandy Ridge, NC: Bhaktivedanta Archives, 2003.
- Prabhupāda, A.C. Bhaktivedānta Swami. *Teachings of Lord Caitanya, the Golden Avatar*. Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1988.
- Prabhupāda, A.C. Bhaktivedānta Swami, translator. *Śrī Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja Gosvāmī*. 9 Vols. Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1996.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Prabhupāda, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami, translator and commentator. *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*. 18 Vols. 1987. Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1998.
- Purīdās Mahāśaya (ed.) *Bhāgavatasandarbhā (Ṣaṣṣandarbhā) of Śrīla Jīva Gosvāmī*. Vrindavan: Haridās Śarma, 1951.
- Radhakrishnan, S., trans. *The Brahma Sūtra: The Philosophy of Spiritual Life*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960.
- Raju, P.T. *The Philosophical Traditions of India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.
- Rangacharya, M, and M B Vardaraja Aiyangar, trans. *The Vedāntasūtras with the Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānūjācārya*. Vol. 1 of 3 vols. 1899. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1988.
- Rau, S. Subba, trans. *The Vedānta-Sūtras with the Commentary by Sri Madhvacarya. A Complete Translation*. Madras: Thompson and Co., 1904.
- Ray, Asinkumar. *Br̥ndāban Theke Jaipur*. Calcutta: Jijnasa, 1985.
- Resnick, H.J. "The Role of the Bhāgavata in Caitanya Caritāmṛta." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 2.3 (1994): 173–9.
- Reyna, Ruth. *The Concept of Māyā From the Vedas to the 20th Century*. London: Asia Publishing House, n.d.
- Rosen, Steven. *The Six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana*. Brooklyn, NY: Folk Books, 1990.
- Rosen, Steven. *The Lives of the Vaishnava Saints: Shrinivas Acharya, Narottam Das Thakur, and Shyamananda Pandit*. n.p.: Folk Books, 1991.
- Rosenstein, Lucy. "The Rādhāvallabha and the Haridāsī Sampradāyas: A Comparison." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 7.1 (1998): 5–18.
- Rukmani, T.S. *Śaṅkara: The Man and His Philosophy*. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Advanced Study and Manohar, 1991.
- Saraswati, Bhakti Siddhanta. *Sri Chaitanya's Teachings*. Madras: Sree Gaudiya Math, 1989.
- Sastri, Asoke Chatterjee. *Jīva Gosvamin*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1996.
- Schweig, Graham M. "Rāsālilā Pañcādhyāya: The Bhāgavata's Ultimate Vision of the Gopīs." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 5.4 (1997): 5–47.
- Schweig, Graham M. "Dance of Divine Love: The Rāsālilā of Krishna as a Vision of Selfless Devotion." Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University. No. 9831285. UMI, 1998.
- Sengupta, Acintya Kumar. *Gaurāṅga Parijan*. Calcutta: n.p., 1968.
- Sharma, Arvind. *The Rope and the Snake: A Metaphorical Exploration of Advaita Vedānta*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1997.
- Sharma, B.N.K. *Philosophy of Śrī Madhvācārya*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1962.
- Sharma, B.N.K. *History of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and Its Literature*. 2nd ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981.
- Sharma, B.N.K. *The Brahmasūtras and Their Principal Commentaries: A Critical Exposition*, 3. vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986.
- Sharma, B.N.K. "The Dvaita School of Vedānta." *Journal of Vaisnava Studies* 5.3 (1997): 17–33.
- Sheridan, Daniel P. *The Advaitic Theism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- Sheridan, Daniel P. "Śrīdhara and His Commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 2.3 (1994): 45–66.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Sheridan, Daniel. "Madhva, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and His Commentary on the First Chapter." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 5.3 (1997): 125–41.
- Sheth, Noel, S.J. *The Divinity of Krishna*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1984.
- Sinha, Jadunatha. *Jīva Gosvāmī's Religion of Devotion and Love*. Varanasi: Chowkamba Vidyabhavan, 1983.
- Smith, Frederick M. "Notes on the Development of Bhakti." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 6.1 (1998): 17–36.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. "Sacred Persistence: Towards a Redescription of Canon." In William Scott Green (ed.) *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978.
- Snell, Rupert. *The Eighty-Four Hymns of Hita Harivaṁśa: An Edition of the Caurāśī Pada*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991.
- Spear, Percival. *A History of India*. Vol. 2. Middlesex: Penguin, 1965.
- Srinivasachari, P.N. *The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita*. Madras: Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1978.
- Stewart, Tony Kevin. "The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity." Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago. T29479. UMI, 1985.
- Śyāmdās (Śyāmlāl Hakīm), trans and commentator (Hindi). *Bhāgavatasandarbhā (Ṣaṣṭandarbhā)*. 6 Vols. Vrindavan: Vrajagaurav Prakāśan, 1982–1999.
- Tagare, Ganesh Vasudeo, trans. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. 5 Vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.
- Timm, Jeffrey R. (ed.) *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992.
- Valpey, Kenneth Russell. "The Grammar and Poetics of Mūrti-Sevā: Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Mage Worship as Discourse, Ritual, and Narrative." D.Phil. thesis. University of Oxford, 2004.
- van Buitenen, J.A.B., trans. *Vedārthasaṁgraha*. Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1956.
- Vasu, Śrīśa Chandra, trans. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. 2 Vols. 1891. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988.
- Vasudeva, Somadeva. "The Yoga of the Mālinivijayottaratantra." D.Phil. thesis. University of Oxford, 2000.
- Vidyavinoda, Sundarananda. *Acintyabhedābhedavāda*. Calcutta: n.p., 1951.
- Vidyavinoda, Sundarananda. *Gauḍīya Darśanar Itihāsa O Vaiṣiṣṭya*. Calcutta: n.p., 1953.
- West, Martin L. *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973.
- Willibald, Kirfel. *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa: Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Bonn: Kurt Schroeder Verlag, 1927.
- Wright, Michael, and Wright, Nancy. "Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa: The Gauḍīya Vedāntist." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 1.2 (1993): 158–84.



# INDEX

- acintya-śakti*: Bhagavān and 51–3, 55; *Brahma-sūtra* and 54–5; expression and 47–9; internal energy and 49–50; prevalence of 50–1; scripture and 46, 51; Śrīdhara Svāmī and 71; unity/difference and 45–9; workings of 52–3
- Advaita Vedānta/Advaitins: *bhakti* and knowledge and 24; Brahman and 176(62n); *Brahma-sūtra* and 2; Caitanya and 15–16; direct/secondary meanings and 46; expression and 47–8; indicators of meaning and 93; Jīva's *Bhāgavata* commentary and 81–2; knowledge and 22; material world and 48; opening/concluding statement and 98, 194(171n); *Paramātmā-sandarbha* and 205; Śrīdhara and 66, 67–9, 70, 71–4, 80–1; *tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ* and 174–7
- Adyar Library 128, 130
- Agastya 54
- Agni Purāṇa* 111, 132, 133, 190–1
- Aiyangar 185(131n)
- Akbar 9
- Amarakośa* 133, 173
- American University 128
- anirvacanīya* 47–9
- Anupama 10
- Anupapatti* 103
- argument by contradiction 103
- arthavādas* 96
- Asiatic Society 124, 128, 131
- Atharva Veda* 202
- Bhagavad-gītā* 1, 77, 114, 169–70, 171, 200
- Bhagavān: *acintya-śakti* and 51–3, 55; *antaryāmī* and 76–7; *Bhāgavata* dissemination and 195–6; “*bhāgavata*” term and 32–3; *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* and 201, 203–4; body of 87; Brahman and 35–8; *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.2 and 177; commendatory statement and 102; concluding statement and 98, 194–5; creation and 83, 187–8; defined 33–4; *dhāmnā svena* and 173–4; form of 168, 169, 170, 180–1; four-verse *Bhāgavata* and 59, 61, 64; Gāyatrī and 111, 192; Kṛṣṇa as 193; knowledge and 188; *māyā* and 205; as Nārāyaṇa 181–2; opening statement and 98; *param dhīmaḥi* and 37, 168, 169, 170; *Paramātmā-sandarbha* and 205; perceiving 74–6, 105, 200; Rāmānuja and 87; reasoning indicator and 102, 103, 104–5, 199–200; repetition/novelty indicator and 100, 197; result indicator and 197–8; scripture and 105; superiority of 166; *tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ* and 174, 176–7; understanding 199; Vyāsa's dissatisfaction and 57–8
- Bhagavān's energy: *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* and 204; Brahman and 43–4; divisions of 41, 180; fire analogy and 39–40, 41, 42, 45; hermeneutics and 43; living entity

- and 42–3; Lord's attributes and 40; manifold *śakti* and 41; material world and 40–5; Śrīdhara and 70–1; sun analogy and 42–3; unity/difference and 49–50 *see also* *acintya-śakti*; material world; *māyā*
- Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1; applicability of 114–15; Bhagavān and 32–3, 34, 37, 57–9, 100, 166; on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 30; *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* and 11; *bhakti* and 58–9; Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism and 3, 6; commendatory statement and 101–2; dissemination of 167, 195–6; domain of 113, 114–18; on Draviḍa 86; essence in 114; four-verse 59–61; Gāyatrī and 110–11; genesis of 57–8; hearing 101; Jīva's authority on 7; Jīva's conviction in 112; Jīva's Vedānta commentary and 32; *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* and 205; *māyā* and 69–70; as mediator 25–31; opening/concluding statements and 97–99; *Paramātmā-sandarbha* and 93; Purāṇas and 116; qualification to hear 30; *rasa* and 28, 30–1; reasoning indicator and 102–5; repetition/novelty indicator and 100; result indicator and 101; superiority of 116; on Supreme Truth 29; *Tattva-sandarbha* and 203; three aspects of reality and 34–6; “*vadanti*” verse of 55, 56–7; Veda and 116; Vedānta and 27–8; Vyāsa's trance and 58, 70 *see also* Śrīdhara Svāmī
- Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Brahma-sūtra*: *Bhāgavata* language and 107; commendatory statement and 198; concluding statement and 193–6; Madhva and 106; natural commentary and 27, 88, 105; Rāmānuja and 86–7; reasoning indicator and 199–200; repetition/novelty indicator and 197; result indicator and 197–8; Śrīdhara and 106–7; *śruti-smṛti* reversal and 115, 116–17; word-for-word correlations and 107 *see also* opening statement of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
- Bhāgavata-sandarbha*: *Bhāgavata* “*vadanti*” verse and 56; *Bhakti-sandarbha* of 56, 128, 201, 206, 207; Gāyatrī and 111; *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* of 128, 201, 203, 205–6; manuscripts of 121, 123–4; notoriety of 7; overview of 11; printed edition of 129; *Prīti-sandarbha* of 201, 206–7; publications of 131; purpose of 32, 203; Rāmānuja and 85; Śrīdhara and 65; structure of 65–6; subject matter of 201; Vedāntic/devotional content of 201–2 *see also* *Bhagavat-sandarbha*; *Paramātmā-sandarbha*; *Tattva-sandarbha*
- Bhāgavata-tūtparya-nirṇaya* 133–4
- Bhagavat-sandarbha*: Bhagavān and 33–4, 37–8; *Bhāgavata* “*vadanti*” verse and 56; four-verse *Bhāgavata* and 61; inconceivability and 50; manuscript of 128; subject matter of 203–4
- bhakti*: *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 58–9, 70; *Bhakti-sandarbha* and 206, 207; Brahmā and 102; defined 20–1, 23; five items of 5–6; goal of 4, 5; *jñāna* and 22–5; Madhva tradition and 21–2; *prema* and 17–18, 19–20; *Prīti-sandarbha* and 206–7; *rasa* and 207; rejecting 170; stages of 21; Vedānta synthesis with 25–31
- Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* 7–8, 11, 20, 22, 24, 206, 207
- Bhakti-ratnākara* 11, 85
- Bhakti-sandarbha* 56, 128, 201, 206, 207
- Bhaktivedānta Swami Prabhupāda, A.C. 7, 12, 34
- Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa 27, 67–8, 202
- Bhāllaveya-śruti* 199
- Banarsidass, Motilal 133
- Bhārata-bhāva-dīpa* 116
- Baudhāyana 171–2
- Bhāvārtha-dīpikā 3, 65, 73–4
- Bhṛgu 178
- Brahmā: abode of 98–9; Bhagavān and 102; *Bhāgavata* dissemination and 97,

- 167, 195; on *bhakti* 170; creation and 181; four-verse *Bhāgavata* and 59–61; Gāyatrī and 110, 196; *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* and 205
- Brahman: Bhagavān and 35–8; Bhagavān's energy and 43–4; *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* and 204; Brahmāloka and 98–9; *Brahma-sūtra* and 2, 98–9, 178–9; creation and 81, 187; *dhāmnā svena* and 174; expression and 90; Gāyatrī and 191; inconceivability of 46; *janmādy asya yataḥ* and 179–80; Kṛṣṇa and 5; karma and 171–2; knowing 54, 64; knowledge and 182; Madhva and 90; material world and 44, 54, 82–3; *param dhūmahi* and 168; Śaṅkara and 2; *satyaṁ* and 172; scripture and 63–4, 89, 183–4, 188, 189; *tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ* and 174, 175–6; three aspects of reality and 35, 36; unity/difference and 46; as witness 180
- Brahma-sūtra*: *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 3, 29; Brahman and 44; Caitanya and 16, 17; commentaries on 2, 27–8; domain of 114; inconceivability and 54–5; Madhva and 87, 89–90; opening/concluding statements and 98; Prakāśānanda and 46–7; Rāmānuja and 84, 86–7; Śaṅkara and 87–8; scripture and 51, 105; Śrīdhara and 84; Vedānta and 1, 2 *see also Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Brahma-sūtra*
- Bṛhatsāma 170
- British Library 130
- Brzezinski, Jan 9–10, 11, 123
- Buddhists 182
- Caitanya: Advaitin renunciates and 15–17; on *Bhāgavata* “vadanti” verse 36–7; chariot festival and 53; Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and 85; inconceivability of 52–3; influence of 15; Jīva Gosvāmī and 3, 10; *jñāna* and 23; liberation and 23; Madhva tradition and 21–2; poet and 24–5; Prakāśānanda and 31, 46–7; Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and 50; Śaṅkara and 72; Sārvabhauma and 18–19; Śrīdhara and 66–7, 72–3; Vaiṣṇavism spread by 6–7; Vedānta and 16–17
- Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka* 18
- Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 10, 15, 49–50, 52–3, 66
- Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Vedānta: *acintya* and 47; Bhagavān's energy and 44; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 3; *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* and 203; Caitanya and 6–7; devotional practices and 3, 5–6; fire analogy and 40; goal of 4, 5–6; inconceivability and 50; philosophical foundation of 1–2; scriptural basis of 1; Śrīdhara and 66, 71; Supreme Lord and 5; unity/difference and 48–9 *see also* Jīva Gosvāmī
- Carney, Gerald 47, 48
- Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed* 128
- Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts* 127, 128
- Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* 130
- Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library* 130
- The Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society (Government Collection)* 128
- Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* 130
- Catuhṣṭrī Tīkā*: audience of 63–4; background for 61; Bhagavān and 37; *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* and 11; *Brahma-sūtra* and 106; editorial conventions and 132–3; Jīva's sources and 63; manuscripts and 127, 131–2; purpose of 32, 62; Rāmānuja and 84, 87; Śrīdhara and 3, 74, 80 *see also* opening statement of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
- Chakrabarty, Ramakanta 9
- Chakravarti, Janardan 7
- Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 44, 90, 95, 96–7, 99, 179(83n), 185–6
- Chanting Lord's names 6, 17
- Chariot festival 53
- Chatterjee, Chinmayi 131

Clooney, S.J. 98  
commentary 112–15 *see also specific commentators*  
*The Complete Teachings* 12(10n)  
correlative predication 39(14n)

Dāna-dharma 181  
De, Sushil Kumar 7, 72–3  
Deity worship 6  
*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat* 130  
Deśika, Vedānta 21  
Devakīnandana Dāsa 11  
Dīkṣita, Appaya 98  
disciplinary boundaries 117  
Draviḍa 86  
Dutt, M.N. 133

*Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal* 72  
editorial conventions 12, 132–4  
Elkman, Stuart 7, 71–3, 77, 79

fire analogy 39–40, 41, 42, 45, 49  
fruitive activity 22, 170–2

Gaṅgāmātā Maṭha 129  
*Garuḍa Purāṇa* 27, 106, 110, 115, 134(10n), 167  
Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism *see* Caitanya  
Vaiṣṇava Vedānta; Jīva Gosvāmī  
Gauramaṇḍala 129  
Gāyatrī: *Bhāgavata* opening statement and 190–2; Caitanya and 27; *dhīmahī* and 29, 196; *Garuḍa Purāṇa* and 106; manuscripts and 132; *Matsya Purāṇa* and 110; Śrīdhara and 110–11, 188(146n)  
*Gitopaniṣad* 1, 77, 114, 169–70, 171, 200  
Goloka 206  
Gopala Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī 84–5  
*Gopālacampū* 8  
Gosvāmī, Lalitācaraṇa 18  
Gosvāmī, Rādhāramaṇa 131  
Gosvāmī, Śyāmalāla 129, 131  
*Gosvāmī Sahita Vicāra* 134(10n)

Gosvāmīs of Vṇḍavana 7, 72, 121–3  
*see also* Jīva Gosvāmī; Rūpa Gosvāmī; Sanātana Gosvāmī  
*Govinda-bhāṣya* 202  
Govindadeva temple 9  
Govindarāja 115  
grammar study 25–6  
great statements 46  
Griffiths, Paul 112–13, 115

*Haṁsaguhyastava* 79  
Hardy, Friedhelm 28, 68  
Harilāla, Vyāsa 127  
*Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* 8, 25–6  
Hari Śaṅkara dāsa 128  
Henderson, John 113–14  
hermeneutics: autonomy and 63; direct/indirect meanings and 46–7; expression and 47–9; four-verse *Bhāgavata* and 59–61; “great statements” method and 46; “passing the referent” method and 79; Śrīdhara and 68; unity/difference and 46 *see also* indicators of meaning  
Hita Harivaṁśa Gosvāmī 17–18

ignorance 205  
impersonalism *see* Advaita Vedānta/ Advaitins  
Indian Institute Library 128  
Indian Research Institute 129  
indicators of meaning 32, 57; Bhagavān and 76; commendatory statement 98, 101–2, 198; listed 95, 166; manuscript and 121; opening/ concluding statement and 97–9, 193–6; prevalent use of 95; reasoning 102–5, 197–8; repetition/novelty 100, 197; result 101, 199–200; Śaṅkara and 96–7 *see also* opening statement of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*  
Institute for Vaiṣṇava Studies 128  
intelligence 199  
invariable concomitance 103–4  
Itihāsa 115

Jadavpur University 131  
Jagannātha deity 19, 25



- Jāhnavā Devī 10  
 Jāmātr Muni 85  
 Jīva Gosvāmī: biographical sketch of 10–11; grammar study and 25–6; innovative synthesis by 89–91; legal documents and 9; literary works of 7–8, 11; scholarship of 7; theological unity and 9–10; tradition melding by 119; Vedāntic Vaiṣṇava tradition and 3–5 *see also Bhāgavata-sandarbha; Catuḥsūtrī Tīkā; specific subject matter*  
*jñāna* 21, 22–5, 98, 99, 207  
 Jodhpur 7–8  
 Joshi, Rasik Vihari 133
- Kacchawāha Rajput kings 121  
 Kaṁsa 73(12n)  
 Kapoor, O.B.L. 35–6, 50–1, 52  
*karma-kaṇḍa* 170–1  
 Kāśī 15–16  
 Kavikarṇapūra 18–19  
 Kennedy, Melville 7  
 Kolkata, W. Bengal 123, 128, 130  
*Krama-sandarbha* 107  
 Kṛṣṇa: *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 1; *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* and 201, 203–4; Caitanya and 52; Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism and 1, 5; devotion to (*see bhakti*); energies of 5; grammar treatise and 25–6; *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* and 205–6; *Prīti-sandarbha* and 206–7; spontaneous attachment to 5; unity/difference and 49–50; in wrestling arena 73(12n) *see also Bhagavān*  
 Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārī 7  
 Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: *acintya-śakti* and 52–3; on Caitanya's influence 15; De and 72; Jīva's history and 10; Jīva's writings and 7; Śrīdhara and 66; on unity/difference 49–50  
*Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* 128, 201, 203, 205–6
- Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* 206  
 Lakṣmī 206  
 liberation: *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 193; *bhakti* and 23, 70–1; *Brahma-sūtra* and 2; *jñāna* and 23, 99; *Prīti-sandarbha* and 207; Vaiṣṇavism and 3; by worship 98–9  
*līlā* 3, 16, 49, 201, 204  
 living entities: Bhagavān's energy and 42–3; *Brahma-sūtra* and 2; creation and 186; dependence of 200; *Paramātmā-sandarbha* and 204–5; perceiving Bhagavān and 74–6; reasoning indicator and 104–5; shelter of 77–80; *tejo-vāri-mṛdān* and 176; Vyāsa and 58  
 logic 179, 182  
 Lott, Eric 201–2
- Madana-mohana temple 9  
*Mādhava-mahotsava* 11  
 Madhavendra Purī 68  
 Madhusūdana Sarasvatī 68  
 Madhva: *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 108; Brahman and 2, 90; *Brahma-sūtra* and 87, 88, 89–90; Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism and 21–2; inconceivability and 54; indicators of meaning and 95, 194(171n); Jīva and 63; liberation and 99; opening/ concluding statements and 98, 99  
*Mahābhārata* 133; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 27, 106, 196; inconceivability and 53; *smṛti* role and 115, 116; *Tattva-sandarbha* and 202; Vyāsa and 57  
 Mahāśaya, Vaiṣṇavacarāṇa Dāsa 129  
*mahā-vākya* 205  
 Mahodaya, Vanamālilāla Gosvāmī 129  
 Mallik, Vallabha 10  
 Manavāla Mahāmuni 85  
*Mantra-rahasya-prakāśa* 116  
 manuscript texts: *Catuḥsūtrī Tīkā* and 127–31; distribution of 124; location of 121–3; omissions/ variations and 123–7  
 material world: Bhagavān and 83; Bhagavān's energy and 40–5; Brahman and 54, 81–3, 187; cause of 187–8; functions of 205; *Paramātmā* and 204, 205; reality of 47–9, 174–5; Śrīdhara and 82–3

*Matsya Purāṇa* 110  
*māyā* 42, 68–70, 71, 173, 205 *see also*  
 material world  
*Māyāvādīs* 15–17  
 meditation 169–70  
*Mīmāṃsā* 64, 95, 98, 171, 185(130n)  
 Minkowski, Christopher 116, 117  
 Mukherjee, Tarapada 122–3

Nārada 57–8, 99, 167, 172(39n), 195  
 Narahari Cakravartī 11, 85  
 Nārāyaṇa 100, 181–2, 184–5  
 Narottama 9  
 Nath, Rādhā Govinda 51  
 National Library 131  
 Nīlakaṇṭha 116, 117  
 Nityānanda 10–11  
 Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī 131

opening statement of *Bhāgavata*  
*Purāṇa*: *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.2 and  
 177–82; *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.3 and  
 187–8; *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.3–4 and  
 182–5; *Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.4 and 188;  
*Brahma-sūtra* 1.1.5 and 185–6, 189;  
 concluding statement and 166–7;  
*dhāmnā svena* and 173–4; entire  
*Brahma-sūtra* and 189–90; entire  
*Purāṇa* and 192–3; *Gāyatrī* and  
 190–2; *param dhūmahī* and 167–70;  
*satyaṁ* and 170–3; *tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ*  
 and 174–7

Paramātmā: *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*  
 and 204; living entities and 75–6,  
 104–5, 204–5; as shelter 77–80;  
 three aspects of reality and 34, 35,  
 36–7, 75

*Paramātmā-sandarbha*; application  
 and 115; *Brahma-sūtra* and 105–6;  
 causality and 41(18n); commendatory  
 statement and 101–2; critical edition  
 passage of 121; *Gāyatrī* and 111,  
 132; indicators of meaning and 57,  
 95–6; manuscripts of 5–6, 124,  
 129, 130–1; opening/concluding  
 statements and 97–100; publication  
 of 131; Rāmānuja and 85; reasoning

indicator and 102–5; repetition/  
 novelty indicator and 100; result  
 indicator and 101; Śrīdhara and  
 74; subject matter of 204–5; three  
 aspects of reality and 56; word-for-  
 word correlation and 107 *see also*  
*Catuhśūtrī Tīkā*

Parīkṣit 97, 101, 102, 167  
 Peterson, Peter 127  
 Poona Oriental Series 133  
 Prabhodānanda Sarasvatī 85  
 Pracetās 168  
 Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī 16–17, 23, 27,  
 31, 46–7  
*Prema* 17–18, 19–20  
*Prīti-sandarbha* 201, 206–7  
*Purāṇas* 57, 115, 116, 202–3  
*Purīdāsa Mahāśaya*, Akiścana Śrīmat  
 124, 125–6, 129, 131  
*puṛuṣas* 77–80, 168(13n), 169(19n)

qualified nondualism 68  
 queens of Dvārakā 206

Rādhā 5, 49–50, 52, 201, 205–6  
 Rādhā Kuṇḍa 123, 130  
 Rādhā-Dāmodara temple 122–3  
 Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya* 17–18,  
 20  
 Raghunātha dāsa Gosvāmī 123, 130  
 Rajasthan 121, 123  
 Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute  
 (R.O.R.I.) 123, 127, 128, 129  
 Rāmānanda Rāya 23  
 Rāmānuja: Bhagavān and 40, 87;  
*bhakti* defined by 20–1; Brahman  
 and 2, 171–2, 184(110n); on *brahman*  
 168; *Brahma-sūtra* and 63, 86–7, 90,  
 178(71n); *dhūmahī* and 169; Gopāla  
 Bhaṭṭa and 85; hermeneutics and 39;  
 inconceivability and 54; knowledge  
 and 183(106n); Madhva and 90; on  
 perception 183(107n); *prema* and  
 18; *Tattva-sandarbha* and 84–6;  
 transformation and 44; Vedāntic/  
 devotional writings of 201–2  
*Rāmāyaṇa* 115, 202  
 Rangacharya 185(131n)

- rasa*: *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 28, 30–1; *bhakti* and 207; grammar treatise and 26; knowledge and 23; *Prīti-sandarbha* and 207; *Sandarbhas* and 201; Śrīdhara and 73(12n)
- rasābhāsa* 24
- Religious Reading* 112–13
- renunciation 22
- Rg Veda* 116, 202
- Roy, Rammohan 134(10n)
- Rūpa Gosvāmī: on *bhakti*, highest 20; Gopala Bhaṭṭa and 85; Jīva and 7–8, 10, 11; *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* and 206; manuscripts of 123; *Prīti-sandarbha* and 207; *Tattva-sandarbha* and 84
- sādhana* 206, 207
- Sahasra-nāma-stotra* 181, 196
- śakti* see Bhagavān's energy
- Sāma Veda* 170, 202
- Sanātana Gosvāmī: *Bhāgavata* “*vadanti*” verse and 36; Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and 85; Jīva and 8, 10; *Sandarbhas* and 206; Śrīdhara and 73(12n); *Tattva-sandarbha* and 84
- Sandarbhas* see *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*
- Śaṅkara: *Brahmaloka* and 98–9; Brahman and 2; *Brahma-sūtra* commentary by 64, 87–8; Caitanya and 15, 17, 72; concluding statement and 99, 194; hermeneutical method of 46; inconceivability and 54; indicators of meaning and 95, 96–7, 97, 98; Jīva and 63; Madhva and 90; Śrīdhara and 68; superimposition and 69; *Tattva-sandarbha* and 203; transformation and 44
- Śaṅkarāṇa Sampradāya 196
- Śaṅkha 41, 181, 205
- Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar 131
- Sarasvatī, Madhusūdana 106
- Śarma, Haridāsa 129
- Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭacārya 16, 18–19, 23
- sarvaṁ khalv idam brahma* 43–4
- Sarva-saṁvādinī* 55, 91, 131
- Śastri, Haridāsa 131
- Ṣaṭ-sandarbha see *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*
- scripture: Bhagavān and 105; Brahman and 54, 63–4, 89, 183–4, 188, 189; commentary comprehensiveness and 113–14 see also specific scriptures
- self-realization 97
- Sharma, B.N.K. 21, 54
- shelter 77–80
- Sheridan, Daniel 68, 69–70, 71, 84
- Śiva 168, 170, 181, 205
- Skānda Purāṇa* 181
- Smith, Jonathan Z. 113
- smṛti* literature 115–16
- snake-rope analogy 48
- Śrībhāṣya 20, 85, 86–7, 131, 183(106n)
- Śrīdhara Svāmī: *abhijñāḥ* 106–7, 185(132n); Advaita Vedānta and 66, 67–8, 71–4, 80–2; *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* and 65–6; *Brahma-sūtra* and 106–7; Caitanya and 66–7; *Catuhṣṭrī Ṭikā* and 3; depth of *Bhāgavata* and 113; Gāyatrī and 110–11, 188(146n), 196(186n); inconceivability and 51; indicator of meaning and 74; Jīva's audience and 63; Jīva's loyalty to 74, 80, 83–4, 87; on *karma-kaṇḍa* 172(39n); Lord's energies and 70–1; *māyā* and 68–70, 82–3; scriptural essence and 30; shelter and 77–80; status of 66; Supersoul and 75–80; *tejo-vāri-mṛdāṁ* and 175(59n)
- Śrī Hita Harivāṁsa Gosvāmī: *Siddhānta Aur Sāhitya* 18
- Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
- Śrīnivāsa 9
- suffering 170
- Śukadeva Gosvāmī: *Bhāgavata* dissemination and 97, 167, 195; concluding statement and 194–5; Parīkṣit and 101, 102; reasoning indicator and 102, 200; result indicator and 101, 197; *Tattva-sandarbha* and 61, 203
- sun analogy 42–3
- Supersoul see Paramātmā

Supreme Lord: aspects of, three  
34–6; Brahman and 2–3; Caitanya  
Vaiṣṇavism and 5; chanting names  
of 6, 17; love for 17–18, 19–20  
*see also* Bhagavān; Caitanya;  
Kṛṣṇa

Sureśvara 46

Sūta Gosvāmī 57, 101, 196, 197, 198

Svarūpa Damodara Gosvāmī 24–5

Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 40, 179(81n)

Śyāmānanda 9

Śyāmdās 12, 131, 196(182n)

*Tat tvam asi* 39

*Tattva-sandarbha: Bhāgavata* “vadanti”  
verse and 56; *Brahma-sūtra* and  
106; divisions of 202; Elkman and  
71–2; Gāyatrī and 111; manuscripts  
of 132; *Paramātmā-sandarbha*  
and 205; publication of 131;  
Rāmānuja and 84–6; scholars  
and 202; Śrīdhara and 67, 70;  
subject matter of 202–3; Vyāsa’s  
trance and 58, 61

thinking 186

time 182–3

Toḍarmal 9

touchstone 45

Uḍupi 22

*Ujjvala-nīlāmaṇi* 206

University of Burdwan 130

University of Dhaka 127, 129

*Upakrama-parākrama* 98

Upaniṣads: authority of 202;

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and 107, 109;

Brahman and 39, 90; *Brahma-sūtra*

and 1, 107; *Catuhṣūtrī Tīkā* and

62; *om* and 47; Sandarbha

manuscripts and 132; Śaṅkara

and 95; Sārvabhauma and 19;

thinking and 186

*Upaniṣat-saṅgraha* 133

*Upasamhāra-vijaya* 99

Vācaspati, Madhusūdana 11

Vaikuṇṭha 42, 60, 195

Vaiṣṇava Literature Microfilm  
Collection 128

Vaiṣṇava-seva Dāsa 128

*Vaiṣṇava-vandanā* 11

Vaiṣṇavism 2–3 *see also* Caitanya  
Vaiṣṇava Vedānta

*Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal* 9

Vallabha Bhaṭṭa 66–7, 72

Vanamālilāla Gosvāmī 127

Van Buitenen, J.A.B. 39

Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat 129, 130

Varāhanagara Gaurāṅga Grantha  
Mandira 129

Varuṇa 178

Vāsudeva 174

Vāyu 98

Veda 57, 98, 115, 166, 202

Vedānta: action/knowledge and  
98; *bhakti* synthesis with 25–31;  
Brahman and 2–3; *Brahma-sūtra*  
and 1, 2, 27–8; competence  
status and 16–17; creation and  
44; devotional movements and  
3; material world and 47–8;  
necessity of 19; pass the referent  
39, 43; *prema* and 17–18, 19–20;  
scriptural harmony and 105;  
*smṛti* and 115–16 *see also*  
Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Vedānta;  
hermeneutics

Vedāntabhūṣaṇa, Rādhāramaṇa  
Gosvāmī 129

Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa 85

“Victory of the Conclusion” 99

Vidyāratna, RāmaNārāyaṇa 129,  
131

Vijayīndra Tirtha 99

Viṣṇu: abodes of 206; Bhagavān and  
168, 181–2; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*  
and 58, 59, 60; Brahman and 38;  
Caitanya as 19; Gāyatrī and 191;  
repetition indicator and 197;  
Sandarbhas and 201; Vaiṣṇavism  
and 5

*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 40, 41, 50, 51, 77, 133,  
200

Viṣṇu Purī 68



# INDEX

- Viṣṇu Svāmī 71  
 Viśiṣvādvaita 84  
 Vraja 121  
 Vrindavan Research Institute (VRI)  
   122–3, 128, 130  
 Vṛndavana 5, 6, 11, 121–3  
 Vyāsa: Bhagavān and 61, 64;  
   *Bhāgavata* dissemination and 99,  
   167, 195; *Brahma-sūtra* and 3, 27;  
   compilations by 57; dissatisfaction  
   of 57–8; Śrīdhara and 70; *Tattva-*  
   *sandarbha* and 203; trance by 70,  
   194, 203  
 Vyāsa, Harirāma 18  
 Vyāsarāja 99  
 West Bengal 121  
   witness 77–80  
   worship 20, 99–100  
*Yajur Veda* 202  
*Yoga-sūtras* 5













The Caitanya Vaiṣṇava tradition is famous for its depth of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, the blue-hued Deity. Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas are known for having refined the practice and aesthetics of devotion into a sophisticated science. This imposing devotional edifice was constructed upon a solid foundation of philosophical argument and understanding. In *The Caitanya Vaiṣṇava Vedānta of Jīva Gosvāmī*, Ravi Gupta sheds new light on the contribution of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism to the field of Indian philosophy. He explores the hermeneutical tools employed, the historical resources harnessed, the structure of the arguments made, and the relative success of the endeavor. For most schools of Vaiṣṇavism, the supporting foundation consists of the philosophical resources provided by Vedānta. The Caitanya tradition is remarkable in its ability to engage in Vedāntic discourse and at the same time practice an ecstatic form of devotion to Krishna. The prime architect of this balance was the scholar-devotee Jīva Gosvāmī (ca. 1517 - 1608). This book analyses Jīva Gosvāmī's writing concerning the philosophy of the Vedānta tradition. It concludes that Jīva's writing crosses "disciplinary boundaries," for he brought into dialogue four powerful streams of classical Hinduism: (1) the various systems of Vedānta; (2) the ecstatic *bhakti* movements; (3) the Purāṇic commentarial tradition; and (4) the aesthetic *rasa* theory of Sanskrit poetics. With training in and commitments to all of these traditions, Jīva Gosvāmī produced a distinctly Caitanya Vaiṣṇava system of theology.

**Ravi M. Gupta** is Assistant Professor of Religion at Centre College, Kentucky, USA. His research interests include Sanskrit commentary, Vaiṣṇava devotional traditions and comparative theology.



Asian Religion/Hinduism/Indian Philosophy

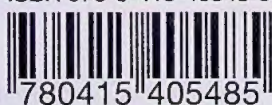
Cover image: A traditional Bengali painting of Caitanya in dancing pose.  
Anonymous artist.

Printed in Great Britain

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group

[www.routledge.com](http://www.routledge.com)

ISBN 978-0-415-40548-5



9 780415 405485

an informa business